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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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12 February 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ SECRETARY FOJTIK EXAMINES IDEOLOGICAL TASKS

PM281143 Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 1, 1985
(signed to press 21 Dec 84) pp 91-98

[Article by Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee: "Important Direction of CPCZ Ideological Work"]

[Text] The 40th anniversary of the completion of the Czechoslovak people's national liberation struggle and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army is approaching.

Socialism, the young and dynamically developing social system, is persuasively proving its historical advantages and potential on Czechoslovak soil too. It really guarantees working people political and social rights and ensures the people's high living standard, the rapid development of the economy, the constant improvement of socialist democracy, and genuine brotherhood and equality among our nationalities and ethnic groups. The Czechoslovak state's membership of the world socialist community reliably guarantees its independence and security.

The experience we have accumulated fully confirms that the key precondition for the successful realization of the policy aims for our society's development is allegiance to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, unswerving compliance with the general natural laws of socialist building, and the creative implementation of these laws, taking account of special national features. Any deviation from these principles leads to serious errors and difficulties. The CPCZ and our society have seen this for themselves from their own experience, having lived through the difficult period in the late sixties when they had to resist attacks by counterrevolutionary forces which threatened the very foundations of socialism in our country. Life has shown that the measures undertaken to foil the plans of internal and external counterrevolution were necessary and correct.

Our country has long since overcome the consequences of the crisis and emerged with honor from the hard ordeals prepared for it by right-wing opportunists. The political and economic system and its socialist character were substantially strengthened in Czechoslovakia in a short space of time after the historic CPCZ Central Committee April and May (1969) Plenums.

In the past 15 years the CSSR's national income has increased more than 80 percent, individual consumption has increased 40 percent, and social consumption has doubled. The CSSR is a firm and reliable link in the world socialist system and the broad front of struggle against imperialism and for peace and social progress.

The past 15 years have convincingly reaffirmed that successes in socialist building are determined primarily by the ability of the revolutionary vanguard of working people--the Communist Party--to keep abreast of new tasks and of the objective needs of society's further development. At the CPCZ Central Committee April (1969) Plenum, Comrade G. Husak said that society will be a reflection of the party. These memorable words sounded as a mobilizing appeal to purge the party of right-wing opportunists and revisionists, to restore the unity of the party on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, and to ensure that the party never ceases for a minute to concern itself with the quality of its ranks, the improvement of the methods and style of its work, and the need to conform to the criteria of a party of the Leninist type.

The revival of the Gottwald traditions, under whose influence the CPCZ was shaped and which radically distinguish its line from opportunist reformism and define it as a genuine vanguard of the working masses, proceeded hand in hand with our efforts in this direction.

K. Gottwald's slogan "Face to the masses!"--which was proclaimed once more by communists after the April plenum--had nothing to do with being attuned to the unaware strata or with the "political art" of which the opportunists were masters--their unprincipledness was passed off as the ability to react flexibly to "new demands." This slogan was an expression of the responsibility which the party assumed toward the working class and the people. After all, it was a question of reviving the purity of the ideals of socialist revolution while taking account of the past and of rectifying the distortions introduced by the right-wingers to the concept of socialism and of our path toward it. On the other hand, the urgent tasks of the day and long-term goals could only be realized on the basis of rallying working people and mobilizing them to overcome the chaos caused by counterrevolution and then moving toward the building of developed socialism.

Thus, the appeal to the masses was at the same time an expression of the principled criticism of the opportunist slide toward chaos [stikhiynost], the long-term undervaluing of mass political and ideological work, and the disregard for revolutionary theory, which was in fact one of the most important reasons for the crisis. The tasks of overcoming the consequences of the crisis and of advancing further along the path of building a developed socialist society dictated the need for the party to organize political education and ideological work both in its own ranks and outside the party, among the broad working masses. Only on this basis could it master the difficult situation which had formed in the initial period of consolidation and normalization, consistently resolve new tasks, and at the same time ensure the preconditions for the fulfillment of the functions arising out of its position as the leading political force in socialist society.

The party thereby resolutely adopted a course of consistently strengthening and developing socialism in our country. Ideological work serves to elucidate its policy and to mobilize the masses to struggle to implement it. The tasks of ideological and educational work at the present stage were comprehensively analyzed at the CPCZ Central Committee Plenum in March 1980, whose decisions were confirmed in the documents of the 16th party congress. The CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum, whose decisions we take into account in our efforts to improve ideological activity, especially as regards improving its effectiveness, reasoned nature, assertiveness, and vigor, were an effective incentive and help to us in implementing these tasks. This applies primarily to propaganda, which is the connecting link between revolutionary theory and agitation and mass political work.

As experience shows, the way to realizing the aforementioned aims lies in organically linking political and economic activity to the education of people in the spirit of socialism. Each of our decisions, whichever sphere it concerns, needs ideological backing. Whatever decision we make and whatever measure we carry out, we must think about how it will be perceived, about how people will interpret it, whether they will support it, and whether they will be prepared to implement it. To resolve economic and, indeed, any other questions or organizational tasks without considering how the people who have to resolve them will perceive the demands made on them and how they will react to instructions from higher bodies would mean dooming our efforts to disruption if not to complete failure in advance. Ideological work must be a matter for all communists, especially those working in responsible posts and organizing the work of labor collectives.

Let us consider the measure of responsibility of our propaganda, particularly the mass media. What is the essence of this responsibility?

Primarily it concerns how our people understand the purport of the historic confrontation unfolding between the world of socialism and capitalism. What is their stance as regards this confrontation and what, in their opinion, will be its outcome? To what degree are they aware of their own place in this historical process which was started by the Great October Socialist Revolution and which has been marked by radical socioeconomic transformations in the contemporary world, and what is their duty to their own motherland and those forces which it supports? In addition, today we must also ask how far people are aware of the threat proceeding from contemporary imperialism and primarily its most terrible manifestation--the threat of the outbreak of thermonuclear war.

Peace and antiwar propaganda are the focus of our attention. There is no doubt that in the long term too we will concentrate the maximum propaganda efforts on these questions. The main thing here is to strengthen in people the conviction that war can be averted and that peace can be defended and the awareness that, to achieve this, the consolidation of socialism must be promoted in our country and throughout the world. Peace will not be safeguarded without the Soviet Union, without the countries of real socialism, without the heightening of their international prestige, and without strengthening the unity of the socialist countries and of all anti-imperialist forces.

Peace propaganda and pacifist propaganda are different. Pacifism kindles the appetite of the aggressor and makes him self-confident and convinced that nobody will dare to stand in his way. Our people tasted the bitter fruits of pacifism as a result of the Munich Pact of 1938, when they became one of the first sacrifices offered by the forces of international and internal reaction to the Hitlerites--this was dictated by the West's base plans to set Hitler against the Soviet Union. We will never forget this lesson. Munich and the subsequent partitioning of our country were the direct consequences of the notorious policy of "appeasement" of Mr Chamberlain and his Western partners. And it was then that the doors were opened wide to Hitler's military adventure. Everybody knows what price our peoples had to pay for the treachery of the Western powers and bourgeois reaction.

Peace and antiwar propaganda must not be abstract and superficial. Appeals for the dissolution of military groupings, the liquidation of military bases and weapons of mass destruction, and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of individual states will remain in the air unless we simultaneously pinpoint the forces which bear full responsibility for the aggravation of tension, the spiraling of the arms race, the swelling of military budgets, and the buildup of seats of dangerous conflicts throughout the world.

The U.S. Army, equipped with modern weapons, is stationed not far from our borders. The deployment of Pershings began on FRG territory at the end of 1983, and the Americans have already begun test launches of them. This is the real picture. It is also a fact that NATO is strengthening the military potential of West Europe as a whole. This military grouping is seeking to enlarge both its coalition, by adding new members, and its spheres of influence. Here statements are made suggesting that the United States should facilitate the fulfillment of the "mission" entrusted to it in other parts of the world. This mission undoubtedly includes the "instilling of order" in Latin America, the barbarous invasion of Grenada, and the bloody settling of scores with Nicaragua and its courageous people just for daring to overthrow the colonial yoke and to choose for themselves their path of development.

It is perfectly clear that it is possible to reliably protect our security only by strengthening the Warsaw Pact Organization. The need has arisen to take adequate countermeasures in response to the deployment of medium-range missiles in the FRG and a number of other West European countries.

The socialist countries--the USSR and the Warsaw Pact countries--have advanced a number of initiatives aimed at removing the threat of nuclear war and at gradual disarmament. They recently submitted a proposal for a reduction in military budgets. What was the West's response to our proposals? There was no reaction at all from it to some of them, while other proposals were evaluated as "pure propaganda."

Bourgeois propaganda disseminates and undoubtedly will continue to disseminate fabrications alleging that it is the West that wants to meet the

Soviet Union and the socialist countries. The propaganda designs are clear here. They try to accuse us of "intransigence" and "lack of flexibility." Such propaganda methods, whereby attempts are made to pass off black as white, have been known for a long time.

The USSR's stance, with which the CSSR has voiced full agreement, is well known. We are for talks. This is our policy. But we are for talks which will not lull public vigilance or cover preparations for war with a smoke-screen of talk about peace. We welcome the USSR's initiative to hold talks with the United States on an entire package of questions relating to nuclear and space weapons--which would lead ultimately to ending the arms race and banning and totally liquidating nuclear weapons.

We sometimes hear it said: "You are always claiming that the situation in the world has been exacerbated. Stop frightening us with war!" We reply that we do not intend to frighten, for fear is a bad counsellor. We want people to evaluate soberly and know the correlation of forces. If they know this, the conviction will strengthen within them that there is no need to lose their heads and that forces exist which are capable of upsetting the aggressive plans of the Pentagon and NATO staffs. The Pentagon and NATO staffs are making preparations for war. They are unswervingly seeking an increase in the already huge appropriations for military purposes. They argue in earnest about the horrifying possibility of inflicting a nuclear strike on the European continent and in other regions remote from U.S. shores and they are adopting arms system modernization programs which extend to space. We cannot brush these facts aside. On the contrary, we are obliged to do everything in our power to help avert this terrible threat. Nor do we have the right to conceal the true scale of the potential threat of the destruction of human civilization and even, perhaps, of life on our planet altogether. It is possible to curb the danger, but only if we mobilize all forces. And this is a measure of the tremendous extent of our responsibility. And we are called upon to conduct our propaganda activity in accordance with it.

The active stance to which we adhere on the question of strengthening our socialist community is also linked with this. We have always viewed the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community countries as a key and paramount task. This constitutes the prerequisites for the successful development of each of our countries individually and of the world socialist community as a whole. Each of our countries is faced with difficult tasks. The fraternal parties' congresses adopted imposing plans and we would scarcely be able to resolve many problems without relying on mutual aid, without using others' positive experience and taking into account their negative experience.

This applies to all spheres, including ideology. After all, we are inspired by common ideals. Their implementation, like the defense of the gains of socialism, is our common concern. And what is happening in the world today enhances still further our responsibility on the ideological front. We must all be aware of this responsibility in a situation in which U.S. imperialism is trying to muster all the forces of world reaction under

the banners of the "crusade" against our countries and against the communist, revolutionary, democratic, and anti-imperialist movement. This adventurist, expansionist policy, whose creators do not conceal their intention to put an end to real socialism, can only be countered effectively by a policy of consistent struggle for peace, the consolidation of our military might and political and ideological unity, and the intensification and development of all-round cooperation between the fraternal countries. It is our duty to stand guard over the gains of socialism, to allow nothing which could divide and weaken us, and to nip in the bud any attempts to shake our unity.

The CPCZ and the Czechoslovak people welcomed with tremendous satisfaction the CPSU's resolute and clear stance on these questions, expressed in the speeches of Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The CEMA countries' economic summit conference in Moscow demonstrated the socialist countries' deep responsibility for the destiny of mankind and the prevention of nuclear war.

The July 1984 conference of secretaries of the central committees of the socialist countries' fraternal parties for international and ideological questions adopted important recommendations concerning, in particular, the coordination of the foreign policy and propaganda of our community's countries. The CPCZ is guided by these recommendations. In our opinion, it is essential at all international forums to make it clearly understood that the attempts of Washington and its NATO partners to achieve military superiority are doomed to failure, that we will not turn from our socialist path no matter what the menaces and pressure, no matter what blandishments or promises of, as a rule, dubious advantages. However complex the problems we resolve, whatever the obstacles, either connected with our past or arisen at the present stage, which we encounter on our path, we must always see that our strength lies in the unity of the fraternal parties and in our countries' cooperation. The consolidation of that unity and the development of cooperation invariably help to resolve any problems. Our propaganda, and above all the mass media, must constantly express themselves on these questions.

Above all they must reveal our community's potential and further opportunities for strengthening and developing it. They must demonstrate the strength of our unity and cooperation in all spheres of social life and stress the tremendous reserves for the further intensification of collaboration--that is one of the mass media's main tasks. To understand each other better, we must know each other better, we must keep abreast of our mutual successes and concerns, and seek to understand them and know how to do so. It is necessary to reveal truthfully the processes which are developing in the world of socialism and the constructive efforts of the fraternal parties and peoples of the socialist countries so that our friendship and mutual respect grow and our cooperation strengthens in a spirit of socialist internationalism. Our propaganda must show the positive results which the socialist countries are achieving in their national economies, in the development of science and technology, in the social sphere, in the

consolidation of the socialist way of life, in the intensification of socialist democracy, and in culture and art.

Our propaganda can fulfill its informational function only on condition that it is based on authentic, verifiable sources of information, that it presents this information in an objective manner, and brings it to people as rapidly as possible. Here we must not forget for a minute that it serves the interests of the party's policy and is designed to mobilize the efforts of society to the solution of urgent problems and teach people to think in the terms of our policy, which accords with the fundamental interests of the people; nor must we forget that it should help develop a correct understanding of the point of the events and processes and main trends and natural laws of historical development.

We must proceed from the premise that all information work should shape and strengthen people's belief in the promise of our policy, in the fact that the socialist revolution has led us out onto the highway from which no one will now be able to push us. That is one of the main, basic demands made on party propaganda in general and the mass media in particular.

Ultimately it is important to seek to ensure that the masses, on the basis of their own internal conviction, support the party's policy and express their attitude toward socialism not only when voting at a meeting but above all by honest, aware labor and by their patriotism and internationalist stances. Every working person must also know of the tasks of the collective in which he lives and works and must know that his motherland will always be a reliable element of the socialist community and the front of the struggle against imperialism and for peace and progress throughout the world.

The improvement of the information system is connected not only with the expansion of sources of information and its prompter transmission. That is not enough. All our information activity should be subordinated to the task of strengthening socialist awareness and socialist relations, the working people's socialist patriotism and internationalism.

We cannot close our eyes to the fact that imperialism has unleashed psychological warfare against countries and the forces of progress. Within the framework of this war its information policy or to be more precise its misinformation policy is being developed, aimed at the population of the capitalist countries and at our own citizens.

For bourgeois propaganda, real socialism and in particular the example of the Soviet Union serves as a constant threat for crude, malicious onslaughts. Bourgeois propaganda is constantly seeking to generate the most negative emotions with regard to the Soviet Union and the countries of real socialism and all our friends. There is no place in bourgeois propaganda for unprejudiced, objective information making it possible to put together a complete picture of our countries' life in all its fullness and real manifestations. It adheres consistently to its anticommunist line, presenting all spheres of socialist society's life, not only politics but also the socioeconomic field, culture, and sport, in the spirit of this line.

Bourgeois propaganda is purposefully, constantly and persistently instilling in its countries a negative attitude toward the Soviet Union and real socialism. To this end malicious use is made of everything which comes to hand and any means are good. Attempts are made at intimidation using the "Soviet military threat" and "the threat of communism" (the campaigns of struggle against so-called terrorism and in defense of human rights are subordinated to this, as is well known). Attention is invariably focused on what, in the opinion of bourgeois propaganda, can serve as proof of the alleged inadequacy of the socialist system. The aim of this is clear. Bourgeois propaganda is thus trying to conceal the sores of capitalism and to direct attention from its deepening general crisis and the deterioration of the living conditions of a substantial section of society in the capitalist world.

The West likes to speak of its adherence to democracy. But only within a framework in which public opinion remains under control and accepts this game. As soon as practice contradicts this scenario the situation changes radically. Confirmation of this is the cynical disregard for public opinion on a vitally important question like that of war and peace. For instance, the champions of "democracy" effect crude reprisals against members of the antiwar movement. They are constantly speaking of "freedom of speech" and "freedom of the press" but in no circumstances do they allow it. The indoctrination of public opinion is total and is the basis of power. The intensification of "information imperialism," manifested, for instance, in the attacks on UNESCO, lies at the basis of plans for the further development of expansionist policy.

Considering this situation, let us ask ourselves: Have we drawn the appropriate conclusions in theory and practice from these facts? Are we guided by them in our propaganda? Are we delivering the appropriate and necessary rebuff to the intensifying campaigns against us, to the growth of our adversary's militarist, anticommunist propaganda?

I think that although we could note definite successes, there is much in this field which still does not satisfy us. There is no doubt that we could act more vigorously. Justified pride in the policy pursued by our parties and our countries' peoples should be heard in our propaganda. This should be manifested in the entire information system. Of course, we will not descend to the level which distinguishes our foes' propaganda machine. We do not pursue a "from a position of strength" policy, nor do we resort to its methods in propaganda. Indeed, such propaganda would be simply alien to our people; they would reject a tone of intimidation and attacks. However, we must ruthlessly expose and unmask the "champions" of democracy, humanity, and love of peace who are pushing the world to the brink of the abyss. They must be opposed most resolutely and the whole world's progressive and peace-loving public must be mobilized for the purpose.

Propaganda's assertiveness is determined not only by the fact that it is truthful. Propaganda's assertiveness is also the result of how far it is imbued with justified confidence and pride. Only propaganda of this kind can strengthen the feelings of patriotism which are rightly linked with the

successes of socialism throughout the world, the rejection of anti-Sovietism, and the repudiation of any manifestations of nationalism and cosmopolitanism. The assertiveness of our propaganda is based on the fact that we hold clear class-based positions and pursue a policy which accords with the historical experience and vital interests of the working class and working people of a particular country and which accords with the problems of the present day and the long-term prospects of the development of the revolutionary and progressive movement.

Our efforts to form a way of life based on the values of socialism and above all on respect for labor for the benefit of society accord with this policy. We extol the hero of our time--the selfless fighter for the interests of society and socialism.

Socialism is strong and attractive primarily thanks to its policy of peace, thanks to the fact that it ensures the prospect of a peaceful life, of the very existence of life on our planet. Socialism is a social system which wholly serves the interests of man and his welfare, which creates opportunities for his all-round development and the application of his abilities. It is a system which enables the working person, for the first time in history, to take part in the management of his state, to be the master in it, to control public property. It is the most democratic and humane system of all those which mankind has known, a system capable of development in which there is no need to pay for guaranteed dynamic development with the emergence of social antagonisms, with the unemployment of millions of people, with the oppression of other peoples, with man's moral degradation, and with disregard for his natural needs and vital interests.

We draw our confidence and optimism from socialism's historical superiority over capitalism. And we are becoming increasingly firmly convinced that the period when this advantage will be fully manifested in all directions is imminent.

Capitalism has achieved a tremendous development in terms of production forces, science, and technology and has put into operation various factors of civilization. But we cannot ignore the indisputable fact that imperialism presents a threat to human civilization and even to life itself on earth.

Socialism--and all the forces of peace and progress in alliance with it--is fortunately so developed that mankind cannot be deadlocked. The stronger socialism is, the stronger the unity of the socialist countries. The more cohesively these countries act with the forces of progress throughout the world, then the more restricted imperialism's maneuvers will be as it seeks to implement its militarist designs and overcome the crisis at the expense of the interests of the majority of mankind and the harder it will be for the advocates of imperialism to make themselves out to be the heralds of peace, freedom, and democracy, irrespective of the funds earmarked by the Western propaganda machine for their maintenance.

The main natural law of the most recent history is the emergence and development of socialism. The world system of socialism was born from the victory over fascism, from the revolutions which have developed in accordance with the sovereign will of the peoples headed by their revolutionary vanguards. It will increasingly determine the direction of modern history's development. We will continue to celebrate the important stages of World War II and postwar development and to sacredly preserve in our memory the heroic exploits of those who did not bow their heads to fascist tyranny and who laid the foundation to our present-day socialist power. Broad opportunities are opened here for the development of ideological work. We are sure that it will serve the consolidation of socialism and the triumph of the noble ideas of progress and peace inextricably linked with it.

CSO: 1800/156

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CAUTIOUS INTEREST IN PAST SHOWN

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 10 Dec 84 p 7

[Article by Viktor Meier]

[Text] "During the fifties we developed a remarkable ability to transform the personalities of our modern history into negatives." The person saying this is not a reactionary, but rather a historian who is very close to the government, Professor Vilam Plevza from Bratislava. And he does not mean this just in reference to the Slovak insurgents of 1944, with whom his special research deals, but rather in general. In the illustrated book he has written about "Slovakia in Socialist Czechoslovakia," there are a few acknowledgedly objective words about Masaryk, the founding president of the country. Plevza's publication is, however, the only official account that we found in all of Czechoslovakia in which Masaryk is depicted in a way reasonably corresponding to his significance. It is not without irony that this occurs in Slovakia of all places. The Slovaks would certainly be justified in displaying a few crucial reservations about Masaryk. Masaryk's theory of "Czechoslovakness" ran counter to the national self-awareness of the Slovaks.

In Susice, at the foot of the Bohemian Forest Mountains, is found, we are told, what is believed to be the only remaining statue of the founding president. Only in his birthplace, the south Moravian city of Hodonin, we hear, is a modest bust still standing. In Susice, the memorial stands on the grounds of a high school, over the promenade, with no inscription. But the figure is unmistakable with his floppy hat, his drooping mustache, and the always open coat hanging from his shoulders. On the walls below are images reminiscent of the soldiers of the allied forces from World War I; it is very possible that there might be among them a member of the "Czechoslovak Legion" in Siberia (this also is hardly ever mentioned officially anymore). There are also panels there which obviously must have held the names of soldiers killed in action--all removed. Young people would be hard pressed to figure out the meaning of the monument. We ask why the monument was left standing at all. We are told that it is thanks to the local inhabitants who besieged the authorities with petitions; finally the monument was allowed to stand in its present form.

Why this silence about Masaryk? The Czech people are, we are officially told, proud of their history and their achievements; western observers take

it badly when these achievements and the people responsible for them are disregarded. Masaryk's memory and prestige are now highly regarded in the western democracies; the First Republic as seen in Europe as a highly developed industrial country, as a modern, functioning democracy, even while other countries were no longer that. But a western visitor cannot openly show respect for this great accomplishment without being accused of a "hostile attitude." After Masaryk experienced a short intellectual renaissance in 1968, it seems paradoxically to have fallen to the Slovaks to restore his historical role.

Probably the regime in Prague simply does not feel that it is in a position to deal intellectually and ideologically with Masaryk. However, it is possible to discover through conversations that the younger generation of Czechs and Slovaks are interested in the First Republic and its personalities; the interest in the history of the period between the wars, which has already shown itself in Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia through a large number of objective historical publications, is also present in Czechoslovakia, but it is forced to remain in the underground, so to speak. And yet one is allowed a thoroughly critical position about the First Republic; Benes' capitulation to Hitler after Munich in September 1938 has still not been gotten over inside the country; the opinions of those who see this act as the key to all later tragedies are in the great majority. Also Masaryk's position in history is not indisputable. Indeed, there are shallow, unwarranted criticisms against him: Something like, in Vienna Masaryk would have become a supporter of Greater Austria rather than a Czech national political figure if he had been admitted to the "Eastern Academy;" or also the attacks of extreme German nationalists who, because of nationality issues, want above all to discredit the liberalism, democratic convictions and decency of the Czech founding president.

Liberalness, humanism and an understanding of democracy characterized Masaryk's fundamental philosophy. Only he obviously underestimated the significance of the issue of nationalism in the new country. He believed that individual civil rights and the resultant "real development" would resolve it. By the time he realized that that was not the case, he had already lost his substantial direct influence on the course of events. His famous 1928 speech on the 10th anniversary of the founding of the nation reflected his reservations and his fears.

Contemporary Czechoslovakia has some other personalities with which it has not come to terms. When Prague writer and poet Jaroslav Seiffert was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in the fall, surprise and embarrassment reigned. The head of an official institute for literature refused to say anything at all to foreign journalists about Seiffert since he was a signatory of the "77 Charter." The government went through the motions: the Czech minister of culture paid him a congratulatory visit in the hospital. But there is no use looking for his books in the bookstores of Prague. Only in the sales shop of the writers union in Graben, not far from the renovated state theater, did one find a small corner of a show window where Seiffert was named and a few of his books were on display. We went in and asked whether there were any for sale. The answer was "None."

Seiffert is a similarly embarrassing person, like Masaryk, who, before 1914, unconcerned with popularity and the appearances of authority, exposed "patriotic" historical writings as false and defended the Jewish peddler Hisler, a scapegoat of anti-Semitic superstition. Seiffert, a party member until 1929, set off alone down the path that the entire Czechoslovak communist movement could have taken, the path of the humanistically oriented, liberally or even libertine oriented intellectuals, who made their mark extensively on the party during the time between the two wars, in a word--the European path. Even Gottwald seemed for a while in the beginning to want to go that way; a distinction is made now between the Gottwald of before the February 1948 takeover and the Gottwald of the Stalinist era. The current regime must be given credit for the fact that it in no way accepts the developments during the time of Stalinism and its proponents. However, on the other hand, it does not deal with them, but rather conceals them as it does the figures from the opposition. All three "worker presidents" of the Second Republic are shadowy figures: Gottwald is respected only with reservations; they try to forget Zapotocky; and Novotny is depicted as a man who was not quite up to events.

It is impossible not to notice that in Prague the past in any form is serious business, obviously too serious for the complex position in which the current leaders find themselves. But without the reappraisal of history, both ancient and recent, there can be no objectivity or self-awareness for a government or for a people.

12666
CSO: 2300/182

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BETTER CARE FOR MONUMENTS OF PAST URGED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 12 Dec 84 p 6

[Excerpt] We have received, and are still receiving, a number of responses from our readers in which the writers express concern about monuments, both "the older" as well as the contemporary ones. We would like to inform those who may be viewing all these problems with rather great interest that at the present time most of the other letters are being used extensively in the preparation of materials that will deal more thoroughly with the problems under discussion. But that will occur in next year's volume.

And now to the letters that we chose for this week...

Miroslav Oliverius from Male Kysice: I agree that greater attention should be paid to the monuments of the workers' movement, the history of the CPCZ, the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army, to the monuments of the building of socialism. But I probably misunderstand the term "essentially class-antagonistic monuments," which seems to cover everything that was built during the era of feudalism and capitalism--churches, monasteries, statues of saints, plague monuments, fortresses, castles, and the like. However, it is right that the state expends large sums of money also for these! Let us acknowledge that it is precisely the cultural monuments that were built by past generations that are the main attraction for tourists from abroad, which is conducive to the influx of hard currency, and the like. Likewise, even a repaired belfry on the village square or a cross at a crossroads near the village draw our attention to the fact that the national committee supported the effort and interest of the citizens and that something is being done in the community for the sake of improving living conditions. It is because of this, not for religious reasons, that citizens are repairing these buildings themselves--mostly in campaign "Z" (if the services of a qualified restorer are not available).

I do not share the opinion that "the class-antagonistic monuments" communicate to us only that some feudal lord, capitalist, or landowner-kulak lived there; on the contrary, they show us that they were built by simple yet skillful people whose names are often unknown today, under difficult circumstances, under pressure, out of necessity to preserve their own existence. We have to "take off our hats" to them and their work. I confess that whenever I visit a Czechoslovak town I do not consider the sight-seeing complete until I inspect, for instance, a church on the square or a fortress or castle in the vicinity.

(I want to emphasize that I am a member of the CPCZ.) The reason? I want to become familiar with and to admire the bequest of all those exploited artisans who lived in that town before today's inhabitants... It is implicit from the contents of my letter that I am not an employee of the Office for Preservation of Historical Monuments, or an archivist, or an employee of a museum. I try to see the above-mentioned problems through the eyes of a young person, a citizen of our socialist society, who realizes that what was created in the past, what was built by simple yet skillful people, must be protected, that these values must be appreciated and passed on to future generations.

Tomas Fiala from Prague 3: ... I know that our state expends large sums of money for the renovation of historical monuments, and that in addition many young people help with the renovation, often for no pay or for minimal pay. And yet a number of fortresses, castles, churches and other monuments are in very unsatisfactory condition. For this reason, some of them even had to be closed to the public, and their renovation is progressing either not at all or at a very slow pace. This is the case, e.g., with Pantheon, Frydstejn or Trosky in Cesky Raj, with some churches in Telc, with the steps to St Hora in Pribram. Some buildings have even been marked for demolition.

As far as the present-day monuments are concerned, I do not know to what extent they are or are not recorded in the register of monuments, but I assume that they are in relatively good condition and that they are sufficiently advertised, for instance, through our communication media.

The history of every nation is formed by both its past and its present. The present is linked to the past, is its continuation. Therefore, it is necessary to pay the same attention to the monuments of the past as to those of the present. The history of our nation did not begin in the year 1945, nor even in the year 1918, but much, much earlier. In accordance of the law of history, our nation passed through the period of feudalism and capitalism, it passed even through an era in which one of the main bearers of culture and civilization was the church. Therefore, there are a number of monuments from that era, and these, too, are an inseparable part of our cultural heritage, of our history...

Mojmir Sobotka from Prague 4: My own speciality is music, and in music, too, there are a number of what one might call "monuments" which in their content and in their original function are often quite contradictory to communist ideology. Whenever I have to deal with them, I try to highlight those among them that are most valuable from the aesthetic point of view, have a healthy ethical core and may be close to the folk music of their time. I agree with the explanation that the composers of, for instance, innumerable pastorales or organ compositions were Czech village schoolmasters, probably just about as poor as the peasants of those times. To be sure, it was also possible to compose atheistic works during the period of "the darkness," but it was highly improbable that they could have been performed. And the oppressed serfs could listen at least on Sunday in the aesthetic setting of their church to the art of music which the schoolmaster was presenting to them, often with the help of some of the more talented ones from their midst. And sometimes the compositions were almost revolutionary for their time, for instance, the Czech

(!) Christmas Mass by Jakub Jan Ryba, or the Christmas carol "Wishing That He Might Sleep" by Adam Michna of Otradovice, which is filled with such fervent human feeling that I do not even experience it as religious music. One of the leading composers honored in this Year of Czech Music was Bohuslav Matej Cernohorsky, a priest. It will probably never be determined what his world view really was, but it is certain that his musical works, whether his organ fugues or his spiritual vocal compositions, have a powerful, uplifting effect even today--because of their musical aesthetic value. I maintain that such work also belongs to our socialist musical culture as the work of a forerunner of ours. It is possible to accept the religious text just as we accept fairy tales about creatures (nymphs, fairies, water sprites...) in whose existence we would never think of believing. I think that it is the same with monuments of architecture, fine arts, and literature. It is in accordance with Leninist principles to protect and preserve all of our valuable cultural heritage, but not the ideology of the ruling classes that arbitrarily claimed the fruits of the labor of the well-known, lesser known or completely unknown artists and artisans...

12435

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

EDITORS DEPEND ON PARTY FOR GUIDANCE

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 10 Dec 84 p 7

[Article by Zelmira Zivna: "The Party Is Always Right"]

[Text] The author, a Czechoslovak journalist, used to work for the foreign broadcast section of Radio Prague and was later, for several years, editor of the weekly illustrated magazine SVET V OBRAZECH [THE WORLD IN PICTURES]. In the foreign department she specialized in the Soviet Union and eastern European countries. Last year she fled through Yugoslavia to Austria with her family.

"Look through the Soviet news material!" That is the standing rule in Czechoslovak editorial offices. If it is not clear to an editor how the appropriate opinion goes, if he is not adequately familiar with the official position, it is better for him to use the Soviet commentary. This rule results from the belief that an editor should not have any opinions of his own, but should write only what corresponds to the opinion of the Soviet side. It also results from the realization that information per se is not the most important thing, but rather the way that it is presented to the reader and the way it influences him. Anyone in the Czechoslovak press who has kept a clear head and still values his work to any degree, suffers from the inadequacy of published information. The appointed editor is not forced to write obvious untruths--yet the exact internal rules of the press section of the central committee have already set for him the limits within which he is allowed to write; they also tell him what he is not allowed to write about and what he must stress in his writing.

In reports about the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, a critical point of view must always be assumed and at all costs. Consequently, editors seek out negative facts: drug addiction in general, that of youth in particular, unemployment and above all every trace, no matter how insignificant, of anything which can be linked with revanchism, from the meetings of Sudeten Germans to the smallest item about young people who collect Nazi uniforms and Nazi emblems. If a report on unemployment in the FRG is to be illustrated with a photograph, the editor must take great care to see that no transparency with a slogan for the 35-hour work week

is used. He either trims such a transparency, or asks a graphic artist colleague to retouch these words which are dangerous for Czechoslovak readers.

There is a fundamental difference in the official attitude toward France. Long training and repeated directives from the central committee have taught journalists that they can write more, and also more freely, about France. Whenever anyone disturbs the western alliance or voices disagreement with United States policy, it is often France; because of that, France is given considerate treatment in the Czechoslovak press. In illustrated publications, a travel report from France with attractive photographs is easier to publish than a report from Germany with equally attractive landscape photographs--unless the pictures show a toxic waste disposal site or a demonstration against American missiles in the foreground. From the mountain of photo material that he has brought back from a trip to Germany, an author begins to make a selection based on his own practical experience and removes the most complimentary pictures. Likewise the department above him goes through them, and eventually the graphic artist and last of all the editor. The report is finally illustrated with the picture of a beggar or an organ-grinder or with a photo of a street in Berlin-Kreuzberg, which, to be sure, always looks better than a lot of streets in Prague, yet does not look inviting with neon lights, shops and display windows.

"We have to view the world in terms of classes." That is a principle which every journalist has deeply impressed upon him and has even digested to a certain degree. And according to this principle he must choose from the facts chiefly those which illustrate the opinion that the world of capitalism is evil and the enemy of its own working people and the socialist countries. An editorial staff cannot alter this situation in any way, but it would be naive to imagine that the governmental party organization has any power within the newspapers or decides itself what is or is not published or what point of view is to be adopted. The party is not there to make decisions, but rather to bring the entire editorial system to the perfect fulfillment of rules which come down from the supervisory levels, most frequently from the press department of the central committee. Otherwise it has at best power over its own members and naturally over all the other editorial workers. But this power does not reach so far that the party can appoint its committees and their chairmen without prior approval of the candidates by the district committees of the party. The party solves personal problems of the "who with whom" type, it takes care of libel, mishaps, anonymous letters and checks for errors which the editors might have made--and also those which are pointed out as such from above.

One such error was the mishap with the crucifix. Of course, crosses cannot be pictured in the press, which means that a good half of the photographs of historical cities of many parts of the world must be excluded. This caused headaches every year at Christmas time for editors. It is all right to write about Christmas--but without mentioning that its origin is a Christian holiday. Several years ago the neutral Christmas issue of the illustrated weekly magazine SVET V OBRAZECH carried the photograph of a Christmas tree and an old picture. Not until after printing did it become

apparent that in the back of the room there was a crucifix hanging on a beam, a beautiful old folk art wood carving. Some copies of the edition had already gone through the press when the responsible staff members realized what misfortune had befallen them. Should they continue printing or not? The answer came from the relevant expert on the press committee: the copies already printed had to be reduced to pulp; another picture took the place of the inadmissible photograph with the cross; and that cost the editors a lot of money. The party organization then expressed its leading role by revealing the incident, finding the guilty parties and writing a report for the higher division.

The rights of full party members are essentially as follows: that they--and this does not always hold--receive more extensive information from their superiors; that they may travel in countries in which a nonmember of the party may not--since they are more resistant to the temptations of the West; and finally that an editorial staff needs party members, regardless of their journalistic ability, their qualifications and their industriousness. More than half of the members of an editorial staff must be party members--this proportion must be exactly maintained--and therein lies its indispensability. They are there always ready to do what is demanded from higher up and party membership compensates for possible professional inadequacy.

12666

CSO: 2300/182

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BROADER APPLICATION OF PHILOSOPHY IN PROPAGANDA ADVOCATED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 12, Dec 84 (signed to press 13 Nov 84)
pp 1084-1093

[Final address by K. Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the sixth GDR Philosophy Congress: "Our Humanistic Assignment"]

[Text] At several GDR philosophy congresses, I have been honored by being allowed the final word. To cite Comrade Professor Buhr, I am accomplishing this task as a "veteran of philosophy." Nolens volens, this awakens memories of the difficult start, or rather restart, of our Marxist-Leninist philosophy after 1945.

The Soviet Union and its allies in the anti-Hitler coalition had emerged victorious against Hitler fascism. We will never forget that the Soviet Union bore the brunt of the struggle and mourned 20 million dead. Nor will we ever forget the contribution by the antifascist resistance, including that by German antifascists, to the overthrow of fascist barbarism.

Anticipating the imminent 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism, we are aware that this victory liberated the German people also and offered it the opportunity to start over. Led by our Marxist-Leninist party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the antifascist and democratic forces made full use of this historic opportunity. The establishment of the GDR, the construction of the workers and farmers power meant the irrevocable decision for socialism, for freedom, democracy and human dignity and our accession to the law of human progress, which determines our age. At the celebrations on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the GDR, Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED CC, spoke for us when he professed: "The GDR is forever linked with the Soviet Union in indestructible friendship, is indivisibly rooted in the socialist community. That is the crucial basis of its prosperity in the past 35 years and also of its further advances."(1)

The 35 year history of the German Democratic Republic, the socialist state on German soil, proves that we have taken the right approach. On our agenda was the imperative necessity to carry out a profound social revolution, a root and branch renewal of society. This included--and above all--a fundamental spiritual rebirth. At stake was the abolition of the fascist master race mentality and of anticommunist prejudices by the spirit of friendship among

states and peoples, in particular friendship with the Soviet Union. The ideology of peace needed to replace the ideology of war.

Humanism with all its traditions in world culture, in German history and, especially, the history of the revolutionary workers movement needed to be set against cynicism. Also much involved was the defeat of existential angst, nihilism and hopelessness, in short the need to point the way to a new life, the construction of the socialist social system and by action demonstrate the feasibility of this ideal.

It is the merit of, among others, Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the "veterans" as well as the "young ones," that this fundamental social revolution and spiritual renewal was accomplished, that we may now talk of the organization of the developed socialist society, the victory of socialist ideology, a GDR socialist national culture standing for understanding among the peoples and for humanity. (Provided it is at all permissible to make such a distinction in philosophy.) I am using this opportunity to congratulate the prize winners in the competition of young philosophers and am happy to note that women philosophers have demonstrated outstanding achievements in this competition.

Each participant in this congress knows from own experience that the socialist revolution and its continued pursuit by the organization of the developed socialist society required (and will require) much work and excellent performances, the handling of many difficulties, the resolution of many contradictions. Without the purposeful policy of the party, without the efforts and hard work of workers and cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people, we would not have achieved our present positive results in the economy, in science, education and culture. Our road is by no means smooth, we must cope with the hardships of the plains and the mountains. And this all the more, because the foes of socialism have bent all their energies ever since the hour of our republic's birth to obstruct and undermine our humanistic efforts. Day in and day out they spread their apologia of the rotting and parasitic capitalist exploiter system, seek by falsifying the reality of socialism to disguise their antipeace policies, their contempt for human rights such as the right to work, to education, to a secure life. This requires GDR philosophers and other social scientists to maintain an unyielding class standpoint, a fighting stance, the ability to argue persuasively and sharply polemicize against the politics and ideology of imperialism and its satellites.

Our philosophers have steadily, skillfully and resolutely championed the policy of the party of the working class, worked for the enrichment and further development of our scientific ideology and successfully battled on the ideological front against antisocialist calumny, irrationalism and other movements of bourgeois philosophy. I am therefore conveying to the attendants at this philosophy congress and to all GDR Marxist-Leninist philosophers the heartfelt greetings, thanks and appreciation of the SED Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker.

The Philosophy of Peace

Comrade Professor Hahn's lecture and the contributions to the discussion provided fundamental explanations regarding the subject matter of the Sixth Philosophy Congress "socialism and peace--humanism in the struggles of our age." Common to all contributions was the appreciation that the preservation of peace is the most important humanistic assignment of this time.

Longing for peace has been a basic concern of mankind since the evolution of the class society. Nowadays this longing moves the peoples more than ever, not least the people of the GDR. Ever since there have been classes, the exploiters--whether slave owners or aristocrats, landowners or capitalists--have instigated wars to enrich themselves and to subjugate other peoples. Mankind was constantly afflicted with unspeakable misery. In his tragedy "The Trojan Women," Euripides movingly described the dreadful misery suffered by the women of conquered Troy. How deeply we empathize with the plaint of Andreas Gryphius in the 30-Year War, "we are now totally, nay more than totally devastated!" And how we are moved by Bert Brecht's admonition in his poem "To My Compatriots": "You who have survived in dead cities, have pity on yourselves at last! Do not go to new wars, you poor people, as if the old ones had not been enough. I beg of you, have pity on yourselves!"

The dangers threatening mankind now are greater than ever. On the occasion of the 39th anniversary of the U.S. atomic bomb drop on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japanese television broadcast a documentary featuring more than 120 scientists from East and West, who describe the effects of a worldwide nuclear war. According to present knowledge, the use of 20 percent of the 50,000 nuclear weapons now held worldwide would mean the immediate or subsequent death of 2.5 billion people. The survivors would face a cruel future: The ecology would be completely out of whack, and the result a world which people affected by radioactivity, hunger and cold would have to share with more resistant and quickly multiplying cockroaches and rats.

Consequently there is nothing more important now than the prevention of a nuclear holocaust, the promotion of disarmament, detente and peaceful coexistence. That is the supreme maxim of the international policy of socialism, reflected in the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other countries of the socialist community. Peace is the basic and elemental precondition for social progress and the resolution of the topical problems confronting the peoples of our age. This was also--and rightly so--the ruling thought of this Sixth GDR Philosophy Congress.

Marxist-Leninist philosophy is a peace philosophy. This reflects its profoundly humanistic nature. It champions the life and continued existence of mankind, a happy future for our people and all other peoples.

However, our philosophy does not merely proclaim the ideal of peace and the right to life. At the same time it passionately opposes the agents of the threat to world peace. They are uniquely and solely those aggressive circles of U.S. and NATO imperialism, who are driven by unbridled hatred for the socialist social order and its ideology, for any movement and stirrings of the

peoples for social progress, democracy and national independence. After all, at his very first press conference following his assumption of the presidency, Reagan described the Soviet Union as the "empire of evil," called for a crusade against socialism in his address to the English Commons and permitted himself the macaber "joke" that he had given instructions within 5 minutes to begin bombing the Soviet Union. These anti-Soviet remarks were made, although Reagan is now seeking to now soften them in the news magazine U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT by asserting "these were not my words." (2) The aggressive circles of imperialism consider the time ripe for rolling back the basic social changes in the world since 1917 and 1945, and for subjugating the world to the dictate of U.S. imperialism.

Our philosophy must help achieve the reversal of the tense international situation, a genuine turn toward peace. It is therefore necessary to continue the resolute struggle against the anticommunist and anti-Soviet lie of a threat from this direction, against the psychological preparation for war, the deceptive maneuvers of the imperialists; and so is the contest with the false doctrine of the fateful inevitability of nuclear war, the allegedly hopeless situation. We oppose to this our sure belief: The power of socialism, the strength of the worldwide peace movement, the movement of the popular masses-- these are well able to thwart the insane plans of imperialism.

Of course we must not underestimate the threat emanating in Europe especially from the emplacement of American nuclear missiles on the soil of the FRG. Already we see those circles raise their heads again, who dream of the abolition of the postwar system in Europe, the "restoration of the German Reich in the 1937 borders" and the "resolution of the open German issue." Confronting this revanchist adventurism, we emphatically reiterate that there is no "open German issue," merely two German states, the socialist German Democratic Republic and the capitalist Federal Republic of Germany. This reality is immovable.

Senior FRG politicians are striving for revanchist and nationalist objectives on the one hand, claiming that they are obligated to do so by the FRG Constitution. On the other hand they pretend to honestly claim that nobody is aiming to call the postwar borders in question. This goes to show the operation of their deceptive maneuvers and the need to unmask their sophistry. Our philosophy can do much to help in this respect.

Marxist-Leninist philosophy has always been based on objective-real facts. Any fudging of truth is alien to its nature. Instead it reveals the social and political connections that give rise to policies threatening humanity and progress. It thereby provides an essential contribution to the definition of the fronts.

Those who want peace must also commit themselves to the defense of peace. The imperialist policy of arms modernization and confrontation must be countered by the reliable defense of socialism. The military and strategic balance achieved by the efforts of the Soviet Union is a significant historic achievement of socialism and the guarantee for the preservation of peace. It cannot and must not be destroyed but it may be reduced to a lower level by

successful disarmament negotiations. However, as long as the Reagan Administration continues to pursue the insane policy of arms modernization and confrontation, we must adopt the appropriate measures for the defense of peace and socialism.

Our National People's Army and the other armed organs accomplish a humanistic assignment. Together with the Soviet Army and the other armies of the Warsaw Pact, the National People's Army defends and secures the achievements of socialism by its high standard of training and combat readiness. Our philosophy should always stress this aspect of the struggle for peace. A pleasing contribution is represented by the book "Die Philosophie des Friedens im Kampf Gegen die Ideologie des Krieges" [The Philosophy of Peace in the Struggle Against the Ideology of War], written by a collective of authors at the Friedrich Engels Military Academy and the Academy for Social Sciences at the SED CC and lately published.

While defending peace, we will not cease to appeal to reason. When we stress the need for a frank and constructive dialogue on the preservation of world peace between people with different political attitudes and ideologies, our policy is built on the desire for peace--based on reason--, on the ability and willingness to act on reasonable principles. Our policy postulates that any dialogue will be impossible once the nuclear weapons speak, because there will be nobody left to conduct it.

That is why the socialist states wish to help the breakthrough of the principle of reason in international relations. The USSR and the other socialist states have repeatedly set out the criteria for the victory of reason in international relations, in particular in the Prague and Moscow declarations of the Warsaw Pact nations. Just lately the USSR has once again precisely defined them by resolutions submitted to the UN General Assembly on the peaceful use of space and the inadmissibility of state terrorism as well as by the proposals on disarmament sent by Comrade Constantin Chernenko to the United States. These criteria are fully or essentially accepted by many states with different social systems. Given the threat to mankind, these criteria might help toward agreements directed to the peaceful cooperation of countries for the benefit of their peoples.

By appealing to reason, we continue the humanistic policy that has had an important role in the philosophical struggle for historic progress and in the struggles of the popular masses. The appeal to reason liberated powerful motive forces in the antifeudal and bourgeois revolution. Friedrich Engels pointed out that, in that period of history, everything contradicting reason was subjected to merciless criticism, that everything was called upon to justify its existence before the judgement seat of reason or yield up this existence.⁽³⁾ It remains to us to emphasize that rationalism's claim was not merely proclaimed, it was held to be the motivation of historic activism. Reason was elevated to the rank of a historic topic designed to effect the necessary social change. Activism was inherent in reason, and this activism defined and permeated by the ideals of the moral perfection of the human species, by belief in the higher development of human society and a far reaching historic optimism.

Of course we are well aware that the young and aspiring bourgeoisie was ultimately able to act progressively in one direction only--vis-a-vis feudalism, its institutions and its ideology. We do not hold the bourgeoisie responsible for that which it was in fact objectively unable to achieve. We know the "heroic illusions" and the very contradictory results which by no means corresponded to the claims of reason. The bourgeoisie actually dismissed reason as soon as its objectives had been achieved. The claim to the primacy of reason in the historic process, the (in theory) ruthless spirit of its founders against social unreason, was taken over by the working class and implanted in reality by its fight for its own liberation and that of all working people. Ever since the Great October Socialist Revolution and the construction of the socialist society in many countries, reason, rationality and efficiency have increasingly been the criteria for the organization of social conditions, and these societies are judged by their success in benefiting the people, the working people. The working class and its revolutionary party therefore also adopted for its philosophy the rigorousness and resolution needed to enforce the principle of reason.

The Humanism of Action

At this time, the preservation of peace is directly linked with the struggle for social progress. All important economic, social, political and ideological problems of the peoples meet in the peace issue and admit of only one conclusion: It will ultimately be necessary in the struggle for social progress to create the proper conditions for permanently resolving the issue of peace in a political and social manner.

Our responsibility for peace, our capacity for peace as well as the firmness of our principles and the flexibility of our peace policy are indissolubly linked with the further strengthening of socialism, because we are quite certain that peace and the peaceful progress of humanity in the conflict will prevail the more in the conflict with the imperialist policy of confrontation and arms modernization, the more we make socialist progress prevail, the more we prove its ability to resolve the problems of mankind. That is why our efforts in the organization of the developed socialist society concentrate on the all-round development of its humanistic nature, the organization at a high standard of all sectors of social life consonant with the spirit of socialism. Valid more than ever is Lenin's principle that what matters most to the revolutionary working class is "the mastery of all forms or aspects of social action without any exception whatever." (4)

In accordance with the SED Program and the Constitution of our Republic, the GDR focuses its best efforts on the working man, and labor occupies first place in the scale of human activities. Our party program describes it plainly as the spirit of socialism "to do everything possible for the welfare of the people, the interests of the working class, cooperative farmers, intelligentsia and other working people." And in another place it states: "The Socialist Unity Party of Germany starts from the assumption that labor is the most important sphere of social life." (5)

Alone in the history of mankind, the socialist social order has proclaimed as the meaning of life the all-round development of working man, the flourishing of the productive and creative forces of all members of society, declared it the supreme objective of its actions and, moreover, was able to realize this objective. Humanism is based on the conviction that man and human society are capable of unlimited development, that each individual has the capacity both to perfect himself and society and is able to act accordingly. To humanistic thought man appears as an active and organizing individual.

Socialist humanism adopts this tradition and takes it further. Marxist-Leninist philosophy gives real meaning to the humanistic image of man. This means that it replaces the "cult of abstract man by the knowledge of real people and their historic development." (6) Marxist-Leninist philosophy breaks with all anthropological and ahistoric concepts of man considered in isolation of production and class conditions. It does away with the illusion of "abstract man" by the appreciation that people confront one another in the antagonistic class society as members of classes.

The first consequence of the humanism of the working class is the abolition of capitalist exploiter conditions and their replacement by socialist production conditions. Another result is that of orienting the humanistic conception of man to productive, value creating individuals who produce social wealth. Marxist-Leninist philosophy moves the working individual to the center. In the socialist society he becomes the "measure of everything."

On the other hand, to cite the poet Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, this real individual is "no sophisticated book, he is a man with human contradiction," in fact we would be correct to say: with human contradictions. That is why the evolution of socialist personalities represents a complex process of the acquisition of new knowledge and attitudes as well as of the elimination of obsolete ones, a process starting with social activity, with labor, and from it derives forward pressing impulses. By providing the appropriate working conditions, social surroundings, education and culture, our socialist society has created favorable prerequisites for the development of individuals. Whether this potential is properly used depends not only on social challenges but also on the interests, needs, skills, the cultural standard and readiness for self-realization of the individual.

Socialist humanism can be realized only in action. It is the humanism of action. The sociopolitical program of our party, in particular the housing construction program, may serve as evidence. Since 1971, 6 million citizens have obtained a new or modernized home--that is humanism in action. Our citizens are not worried by rent gauging or land speculation, they need not fear being put out in the street with their families--they thus directly experience the humanism of our socialist society.

On the other hand, our party has never claimed that our social achievements to date are more than steps on the road to socialism to be taken constantly further. We have therefore set ourselves the target to resolve the housing problem as the main social problem by 1990. This will still require tremendous efforts, but it is enough to constantly raise the prestige of

socialist humanism and root it steadily more soundly in the consciousness of the citizens as an inalienable value of their lives. Ultimately it means that socialist humanism is not just a concept; it is an attitude expressed in the striving for the further improvement of living conditions, truly human relations in the work collective, solidarity and internationalist action, active cooperation in the organization of the developed socialist society by sound work, the conscientious discharge of duties and the meaningful observation of rights--precisely as humanism in action.

This real humanism is reflected in all spheres of SED social policy. Our economic and social policy is resolutely directed to doing everything to raise the material and cultural standard of living of the working people, guarantee social security and satisfying labor, education and comprehensive health care as well as a carefree old age. Here nobody need fear crises and unemployment or the lack of an apprenticeship. Nor does the scientific-technical revolution lead to antihuman results in our society. On the contrary. The speed-up of scientific-technical progress is actually needed to achieve the economic advances required to form the base of the further enrichment of the lives of our working people. We assume that research and the rapid transfer of research results must achieve the improvement of the efficiency of production and labor productivity. The refinement of products, conservation of materials and energy, use of microelectronics and robot equipment, the systematic renewal of products and technologies and other scientific-technical measures must do more than guarantee the steady and dynamic growth of the economy and the comprehensive, efficient and resource conserving intensification of the national economy. Linked with all of this at all times are such social and cultural effects as changes in working conditions, challenges to education and training, ecological considerations, political and ideological processes. This generates a tremendous challenge to philosophy. It must endeavor to keep an eye on the complexity of the social interrelations arising from scientific-technical advances, in good time spot possible problems--specially intellectual problems--, discover contradictions and collaborate in their resolution. Of course Marxist-Leninist philosophers will be able to handle this assignment only in cooperation with sociologists, natural scientists, engineers and physicians so as to produce practical results.

Environmental issues loomed large in the discussions of this congress. As the SED Program stresses, these issues need our steady attention. Here we assume that intensively expanded reproduction as implemented by the economic policy of our party, represents the real approach to environmental control. For one because it requires the conservation of resources, the careful and thrifty handling of the raw materials, other materials and energy available to us. As you know, we have achieved notable results in the past 2 years, of course without having solved all problems. For the other, this resource conserving and intensively expanded reproduction increasingly earns the money for the steadily more efficient protection of the environment as stipulated in our laws on environmental control and water management, in instructions by the industry ministers, the forestry authorities, and so on. That is why environmental issues cannot be separated from the strategy and results of our economic policy nor isolated from the preservation of peace and the initiative

of the working people (for example within the framework of the National Front or the German Cultural League). Philosophy should consider precisely these connections and interrelations of ecological processes with real economic, social and ideological happenings.

All growth of performance, each advance in the implementation of the economic strategy decided upon by the Tenth SED Congress on the one hand opens up new opportunities for enriching life in all other sectors of society. On the other hand it favors and virtually challenges the evolution of attitudes corresponding to the ideals and values of socialism. I am thinking of ideals and values such as collectivism, comradely cooperation, solidarity, readiness to perform well, reliability and orderliness. In view of the fact that none of these ideals and values happen to come along automatically, we have here another challenge to Marxist-Leninist philosophy--to effectively contribute to their development.

The performances achieved in the socialist competition in honor of the 35th anniversary of the GDR prove that the GDR working people appreciate the correctness of the policy enacted by the Tenth SED Congress and interpret it as a challenge to their abilities and gifts, their personal commitment. We see demonstrated here the opportunities offered by the socialist society to the evolution of human creativity, to efforts for the community and, ultimately, self-perfection in the meaning of the ideals and values of socialist humanism. The conscious and organized creativity of the working masses is proving a decisive motive force in the development of the socialist society.

To speak of the real humanism of the socialist society means to clearly stress that the leading role of the party and the political power of the working class and its allies are the vital preconditions for its realization. Without them there would be neither the unity of economic and social policy nor the expression of the creative abilities of the working people linked with it, neither social security nor a fulfilled life. In fact there would be no security at all in our lives. At the same time, the socialist state does more than back up our humanistic labors. As the main tool for the organization of the developed socialist society, the socialist state manages and organizes the planned development of the productive forces. It promotes socialist production conditions and provides the opportunities for the intellectual-cultural development of all citizens. It embodies the general social will and endows it with the strength to prevail.

We said in the party program that the "main direction for the development of the socialist state power...(is) the further evolution and perfection of socialist democracy." (7) In the many varied types of active involvement of all citizens in the management of the state and the economy, we see an increasingly important characteristic feature of life in socialism. The creativity of the working people is by no means confined to the sphere of economics. Political activism, the assumption of active responsibility for the whole, co-determination--in other words socialist democracy--, that also is the real humanism of the socialist society. To do more than before, to encourage the creativity of the masses in all fields, discover and make

effective its motive forces--all this is among the assignments of Marxist-Leninist philosophy in the GDR.

When contemplating now the most important trends of social progress in our time, we see one feature emerging very clearly: The historic superiority of socialism over capitalism is evident in the ability of the socialist society to set itself objectives that are in the interest of all men and to achieve these objectives by the strength of all and with the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. The socialist humanism inherent in this process is revealed not only in the objectives--consonant with social progress--but also with the manner of their realization.

For the Greater Efficacy of Our Philosophy

GDR Marxist-Leninist philosophers and other social scholars have done much to mass effectively spread Marxism-Leninism as socialist humanism. Still, we must not stop there. I would like to strongly support Erich Hahn's appeal to more profoundly explore the humanist substance of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and more broadly to propagate it. This is also a command of the ideological class conflict with imperialist ideology, with anticommunism and irrationality.

In this pursuit we are closely collaborating with the philosophers in the USSR and the other socialist states as well as with Marxist and other progressive philosophers from capitalist and developing countries. Altogether, the international exchange of experiences and opinions, joint work on important social and theoretical problems assume growing importance. In my opinion, socialist economic integration should be supplemented by the integration of Marxist-Leninist thought, even closer cooperation among philosophers and other social scholars of the socialist countries.

Extremely important is the mastery of the materialist-dialectic method both in scholarly analysis and the presentation of philosophical knowledge. The strength and performance of Marxist-Leninist philosophy are based primarily on the fact that it realizes the dialectic unity of strict scientific nature and resolute party-likeness.

Such great challenges cannot be met by philosophers alone. Close cooperation between philosophers and other social scientists, with scientists of the natural and engineering sciences and representatives of social and political organizations is needed more than ever. We are also quite aware of the fact that the findings of philosophy reach the consciousness of the public largely by way of these sciences and spheres.

Marxist-Leninist philosophy must provide scientifically substantiated and persuasive answers to the topical issues of our time. At the same time we must remember that the working and living conditions of the working people have changed significantly, the standard of education has risen and the intellectual demands and experiences of people have become far more sophisticated. The citizens of our republic make great demands on the evidential force and comprehensibility of our philosophy. The mass efficacy

of philosophical publications is largely determined by their success (or otherwise) in meeting these intellectual challenges. We now have to hand many philosophical works by GDR authors, suitable for various ideological needs and educational standards. The perceptions and experiences gained in the preparation of these publications should be even better used in propaganda and political work with the masses. Philosophical papers will achieve the greatest possible effect if their theoretical and literary quality is outstanding, and they are properly relevant to daily life. It would certainly be useful for some writers to be mindful of the aphorisms by Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, in particular his cutting remark: "His books were all very nice, they had little to do otherwise." On the other hand--let me say this in vindication of writers--, another aphorism surely applies also: "When a book and a head collide, and the ensuing sound is hollow, is this always in the book?"

The Sixth GDR Philosophy Congress has supplied many suggestions and indications for future work by the report, the contributions to the discussion, study groups, platform talks and discussion meetings of students.

We are sure that GDR philosophers satisfy the expectations and discharge their responsibilities to the socialist society.

FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "Progress and Peace, Understanding Among Nations and Solidarity Have a Secure Home in the GDR for Ever," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 7 October 1984, p 3.
2. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, 17 October 1984, p 2.
3. See Friedrich Engels, "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," Collected Works, Vol 19, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1962, p 189.
4. V.I. Lenin, "'Left Radicalism,' the Childhood Disease in Communism," Collected Works, Vol 31, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1959, p 83.
5. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" [SED Program], Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1976, pp 19/20 and 22/24.
6. Friedrich Engels, "Ludwig Feuerbach and the Result of German Classical Philosophy," Collected Works, Vol 21, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1962, p 290.
7. SED Program, p 41.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, DECEMBER 1984

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 12, Dec 84 (signed to press 13 Nov 84)
pp 1058, 1143

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Erich Hahn, member of the SED Central Committee, director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy at the Academy for Social Sciences at the SED Central Committee, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the GDR Scientific Council for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy; pp 1077-1083]

[Text] Individual and Society in Socialism

The ideological presentation of the profound change in the relations between the individual and society in socialism is of the utmost importance for the development of the motive forces of our society and the reinforcement of the humanist potential in the struggle for peace and social progress. Starting from this premise, the author describes the essential elements and basic prerequisites of the new interrelation between the two, the political, social and intellectual-cultural factors of the development of individuality, the dialectic between socialization processes and the evolution of individuality as well as the tasks arising therefrom for philosophy.

[Summary of address by Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary, to the Sixth GDR Philosophy Congress; pp 1084-1093. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Our Humanistic Assignment

Concluding address at the Sixth GDR Philosophy Congress. The speaker describes Marxist-Leninist philosophy as the philosophy of peace and socialist humanism as the humanism of action, reflected in all spheres of the SED's social policy and the life of our country itself. Starting from this assertion, the speaker infers assignments for philo-

sophical studies and the improvement of the efficacy of the work of philosophers.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Willi Kunz, deputy director of Central Institute for Socialist Management at the SED Central Committee, chairman of the Scientific Advisory Council on Issues of Socialist Economic Integration; pp 1094-1101]

[Text] Socialist Economic Integration and Comprehensive Integration

Starting from the premise of the objective necessity of socialist economic integration and its earlier successful development, the author shows that the CEMA member countries have all that is needed to raise reciprocal cooperation to a new level and, in particular, accomplish the tasks involved in comprehensive intensification. What are the main issues? The long-range program of cooperation between the GDR and the USSR through 2000 as the expression of a new stage in the linkage of the two countries' national economies.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Dieter Spaar, first vice president of GDR Academy of Agricultural Sciences; pp 1102-1106]

[Text] Research Cooperation--Precondition for the Best Possible Performance of Agricultural Science

The achievement of higher yields in agriculture, coupled with growing efficiency, requires improved performances from agricultural science also, commands us to deepen research cooperation. In what manner must it take into account the complexity of the agricultural reproduction process? What are the tasks arising for its planned management? What is the importance to international research cooperation, specially with the research potential of the Soviet Union?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gerhart Neuner, member of SED Central Committee, president of GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, member of GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 1107-1112]

[Text] Polytechnical Secondary School--Achievement and Potential for the Present and for the Future

The excellent general and professional training in the GDR represents a significant intellectual potential that needs to be even more effective for raising performance in all sectors, for the development of the people's creativity. What do we have to do in the course of our

pedagogical work to optimally develop the talents and abilities of each student and, at the same time, provide special encouragement for gifted students to turn out top performances? How is education to be organized in the polytechnical school in order to equip youth intellectually, ideologically and morally for the challenges arising from the new stage of the scientific-technical revolution.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans-Dietrich Dahnke, director of Institute for Classical German Literature at the National Research and Memorial Abodes of Classical German Literature in Weimar; pp 1113-1118]

[Text] Schiller's Works - Productive Challenge

Our relationship to the heritage of German literary classicism is a significant achievement of socialist cultural policy but needs to be constantly made over to be productive. What do Schiller's personality and works mean to us now? How may they be redefined in the further pursuit of progressive Schiller appreciation and with vital relevance to the present time, for the shaping of the socialist personality? The author emphasizes the challenging nature of these questions. The basic features of our image of Schiller clearly reveal that renewed creative efforts to explore Schiller are well worth while.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Willibald Gutsche, research group head at Central Institute for History of the GDR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the Central Executive Board of the Society for Native History in the GDR Cultural League; pp 1119-1123]

[Text] On the Writing of Native History

In the 40 years since the liberation from fascism, the GDR has become the socialist fatherland, the homeland of all its citizens, and the citizens in turn developed a new relationship with their closer environment. Works on the history of our cities, communities and regions, equally arousing hearts and minds, must make the writing of native history and the expectations held of it even more purposefully and effectively an efficient force of socialist historic consciousness, make all our citizens aware of the historic dimensions of our achievements.

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HUNGARY

FOREIGN POLICY, FRIENDS, FOES

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Dec 84 p 7

[Article by Janos Berecz, based on a lecture delivered at the jubilee meeting of the Academy of Sciences: "Our Forty Years in the World"]

[Excerpts] Recognition

International judgment on a given country is determined primarily by its domestic situation. Hungary's development since the 1960's has again gained for it international attention and interest. Our earlier poor reputation has been turned around. It was surprising to interested persons that barely several years following the turmoil, there was calm in Hungary, government rule was self-confident and stable, and the country was a firm factor in international order and peaceful cooperation. At the same time this stability did not represent stagnant water. It was widely noted and then acknowledged that in building socialism Hungarian society was filled with vitality and with a creative and renovative spirit. Not everyone understood what the explanation was for the development, but the HSWP consistently stated that the source of our results was the creative application of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism to our specific national conditions.

Our initiative-taking Hungarian foreign policy is built on the stable domestic situation, developing socialist practice and a frank undertaking of international obligations. The Hungarian People's Republic does not deal in commodities of a foreign political nature, it does not peddle untenable initiatives and it does not gamble with the country's reputation in the world arena.

This political attitude--accompanied by a style of reason and discussion for building relations and not by epithets but facts and not by disparaging the partner in debate--has significantly increased the credibility of and respect for the Hungarian people and the Hungarian building of socialism in the whole world. Foreign statesmen regard their Hungarian discussions not as a burden but as worthwhile and profitable. All things considered, international judgment is favorable for Hungary, but we are also aware that world political and international economic conditions are difficult in our day.

The appropriate external conditions for the building of socialism is represented first of all by peaceful international relations. The implementation of a large-scale building program is conceivable only under conditions of peaceful coexistence and cooperation. On this basis, we regarded the period of international detente as particularly favorable for Hungary.

International Class Struggle

As a result of the quality changes which have occurred in military technology, one of the determining factors in the international position of countries has become the fact that external security, which may be threatened even from a distance of several thousand kilometers, is at the center stage of political relations between the two conflicting social systems. One country by itself is unable to assure security, and therefore the security of our continent, the whole of Europe, is particularly important for Hungary.

The main efforts in the attacks against the detente process are directed at increasing the threat to the socialist countries, weakening their economic stability and upsetting their security. The centers of international imperialism have entertained the hope that the more difficult international situation would discourage the leaders of the socialist countries and that they would break away from the internal policies which were conducted with so much success during the detente period. It should be judged as all the more important that our party successfully has defended itself against the destructive effects of the growing international tensions of the world economic crisis, held its ground and warded off the efforts directed at restraining internal development. A modest but influential factor in peaceful international relations is the fact that the Hungarian People's Republic--despite extremely difficult circumstances--has guarded its ability to pay on the international money market, protected its positions in international economic work specialization and in domestic policy continued on the course it had been following. But the fact that we are continuing with the development of the economic reform and enhancing socialist democracy with important measures also shows that our country is interested in protecting the results of detente and in stimulating this favorable international political process. Also, despite the colder international atmosphere we have guarded our foreign policy sensitivity and openness, we are continuing to build our foreign economic relations, our diplomatic activity with the West European countries, we are taking the initiative in cultural exchanges, we are developing tourism, and so forth. All these things signify the strength of our society, its maturity for the development of democracy and over the long term its optimistic evaluation of the situation regarding international relations. This way our foreign and domestic policies have built on each other in the present situation.

The deteriorating international political and economic relations increase the risks of our socialist society. The more open the condition system and society of a country the stronger is the requirement and need for the defense of national and social values against external pressures and erosive

influences. A good reputation in itself is not protection, particularly if the erosive influences are not of spontaneous origin but planned behind a mask called science, engendered by international power means and organizations. At the center of our Hungarian society's activity is the development of economic efficiency and socialist democracy, one of the main means of which is the progression of the reform process. At the same time, in the past 2 years experts have held two conferences in the United States Department of State on the possibilities to promote and influence the development of reform and democracy in the socialist countries with a view to weakening the creative and unifying forces of society.

To a greater or lesser degree, the political question is in fact on the agenda of the socialist countries, the guidance and modernization of the economy and the development of social democracy. With its tactics of "democracy and reform for the socialist countries" the United States has set a goal to create divisions in leadership strength. On one hand, it hopes to create a dogmatic horror of everything new and to feed the fear of those who are averse to all change. And on the other hand, it hopes to bring about a false impression that every change and development process in the given target country started in the bourgeois West, would bring our society closer to theirs, and in this way the measures along with those carrying them out may become suspect. Therefore, they evaluate every initiative of ours, of course, by their own capitalist yardstick, and they put down in lengthy articles their pipe dreams for a process of restoring capitalism in Hungary.

It is a part of these same tactics to give a distorted interpretation of and to bring in confrontation the differences in the practices of the socialist countries deriving from different endowments and traditions as shaped by history. By means of praise or condemnation they wish to arouse mistrust in the relationships of the individual countries, particularly where there exist points of neuralgia. They try to incite the national sensitivities of the peoples in the socialist countries with partiality and to exploit mistakes or arrogance in this area by spreading nationalist poisons.

We must not exaggerate all these things, but to ignore them could have dangerous consequences. International imperialism continues to have diversionary institutions and services, which perform their activities according to these tactics, seeking for this purpose persons and groups also within the country itself.

Thus the international class struggle still exists, it is only more complicated and artful than in the period of the Cold War. Naturally, the main condition for the protection of socialism and the service of the common cause is that the leading Marxist-Leninist party should have a correct theoretical and practical policy for the solution of problems facing society, and nowhere should it allow itself to be jolted from guiding the process which it has started. A Hungary that is constructive in its relations, socially stable and successful in implementing its program for the building

of socialism renders the best service to the socialist community and in general to peace and international relations.

And still, how large is the area of mobility in the world arena for a country following such a policy? It is not possible to answer this with concrete data, for it depends on the combined effect of many domestic and international factors, and these factors are also changing. The parameters of mobility, however, can be indicated. Let us represent in the world the interests of our socialist-building nation in such a way that we shall not arouse doubts in the minds of our loyal allies, and let us not give rise to any ambiguity or hope in the minds of our partners who represent the other social system. We must make it clear and acceptable that our measures and initiatives--and thus, for example, the goal of the reform process--is to make the building of socialism even more successful, the best possible solution for the tasks of a socialist society, and that our foreign policy is built on the ideas of revolutionary internationalism and the principles of peaceful coexistence. Of course, much more than this binds us to the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, we live in a community with a common fate, we have mutual affairs and same ideas. But we do not always know everything about one another, neither do we solve the same problems in the same way because international circumstances are different. All this will not evoke misunderstandings or troubles in our friendship if we bear in mind the following conclusion of the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: "During the years of building socialism the fraternal countries acquired manifold positive experiences in the organization of production, management and the solution of economic problems.... Therefore, let us study more carefully and use more widely the experiences of our brother countries."

In his speech summing up the discussions of the 12th Congress of the HSWP, Comrade Janos Kadar made this programmatic statement: "Whatever we undertake to do, we will support honorably that point of view. But if we cannot undertake something, that too we shall make clear.... We want to be loyal allies of our allies and we are that! We want to be loyal friends of our friends, and we are that! And with the other side as well, if we negotiate and we agree, we are honorable partners and keep our word, and we want to continue being that!"

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HUNGARY

MSZMP TACKLES YOUTH PROBLEMS, ISSUES IN NEW BOOK

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian 16 Nov 84 p 8

[Review by Zsolt Bosa of book "A magyar ifjusag a nyolcvanas evekben"
[Hungarian Youth in 1980's], A Collection of Essays published by the MSZMP
Social Sciences Institute, Kossuth Publishers, 1984]

[Text] Two bits of information from the book. One: The young population in Hungary was 4.713 million in 1980, 44 percent of the total population. The other: the ratio will only be 35 percent in 2020 since the population of those below 30 will drop by 2.3 million. Furthermore, if we take into consideration the complex and large-scale socio-economic tasks to be accomplished by an "aging" population decreasing in numbers, it is clear that we have to manage the youth more wisely than before, being aware of its potentials at present and in the future.

This recognition has become an organic part of the Hungarian Socialist workers' Party (MSZMP) policy. Scientific research has been integrated into the process of decisionmaking and that of the political attitude. In the foreward of the book Mr Zoltan Bekes gives a good survey of the work carried out for the Agitation Propaganda Committee of the Central Committee of the MSZMP. The organically connected topics related to youth policy give an explanation of the threefold structure of this volume of studies. We can only welcome the republication of studies by Istvan Huszar, Ferenc Gazso, Ferenc Pataki and Eva Ancsel. These were originally lectures of the 1982 Nyiregyhaza Conference of Youth Specialists and were first published in periodicals. The publication of these studies given an overall view to the readers and sets up a program at the same time.

The complexity of the "Nyiregyhaza studies" embedded in the interrelations of the society as a whole serves its function most in the second, longer part of the volume. The common feature of these studies is that they concentrate on revealing the basic characteristics of the youthful existence, aspects of its demographics (Ferenc Kamaras--Istvan Monigl), popular health (Tamas Tahin), finances, income, housing (Maria Redei--Mrs Pal Salamin--Jozsef Ujvari) and life style (Rudolf Andorka--Bela Falussy). The detailed presentation of the respective relations of the total population (above 15) gives the basis for the analysis of the materialist--materialistic in the Marxist sense--living conditions of the youth. This way the specific characteristics of the youth are

verified and qualified against the common features of the different age groups. Both the overall picture given by the authors and their predictions are underlined by their consequent endeavour to specify the differences according to sexes and locations. The fact that only one study (Laszlo Boros--Laszlo Keri) deals with the consciousness of the youth--i.e. its political socialization--might be due to the position of research.

The last thematical unit is a study by Jeno Andics, Ferenc Gazso and Istvan Harcsa, summarizing, supplementing and analyzing the research up to the present and thus giving the people in charge guidelines for decisions concerning youth policy. This volume of studies is a remarkable sample of the national youth research which is trying its wings. At the same time it is also a convincing proof of the fruitful cooperation of the science of politics that is advantageous to both parties.

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POLAND

IMF MEMBERSHIP ISSUE EXAMINED IN YOUTH PAPER

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 15 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Jacek Swidwinski: "IMF: Cracking the Door"]

[Excerpts] The introduction of martial law in Poland on 13 December 1981 met with a very unfriendly reception in the United States, which was confirmed by the imposition of a range of economic sanctions. One of them was to block Poland's readmission to the International Monetary Fund.

Recent reports from Washington have said that the U.S. administration no longer intends to oppose Poland's admission. Another sanction has thus been lifted, because even in the United States people began to realize that steps such as this are ineffective or even counterproductive. Both the U.S. Government and banks have lent too much money to Poland in the past to give up the loans easily now.

What are the benefits of IMF membership? First of all, it ensures access to hard currency credits with a relatively low interest, which is particularly important in view of the exceptionally high interest rate on most credit markets.

Besides, membership in such an institution is in itself a kind of guarantee for creditors. Both private and government banks look in a much more friendly manner at IMF members than at outsiders. This is not just a coincidence.

In Poland, there were as many supporters as there were opponents of the decision to start seeking Poland's admission to the IMF. The main argument of the latter was that the IMF officers obtain a certain right to interfere in the economic affairs of the country applying for credit. This interference is done with the gloves on, as the applicant country is expected to supply documents that reveal its present economic situation, the ways of remedying it (obviously, those who have no problems will not apply for loans), and plans for using the loan. If the IMF officers decide that the application does not conform to the requirements on any count, they just coolly refuse to grant the loan.

For this reason, IMF membership is very important in financial circles. The bankers know that from the economic point of view IMF members must display proper conduct. Moreover, membership in the fund is a guarantee that the debtor will be solvent.

What can be expected after Poland's possible admission to the fund? It is unlikely that we shall immediately be showered with dollars. It will be necessary to wait at least a year before the first credits become available.

What sums can be expected? Experts vary in their estimates. Over the last 4 years, because of U.S. restrictions, we have been denied practically any hard-currency credit. Poland's economy, which during the 1970's became heavily dependent on Western economies while failing to develop exports, began to suffocate because of the lack of imported raw materials, components and spare parts.

In that period we obtained a considerable amount of hard currency from the Soviet Union, but even that was not enough to regain full economic equilibrium. At the end of the 1980's it will be necessary to start repaying the money owed to private banks and the credits guaranteed by the Western states.

As can be seen from the above, not only Poland itself but also a number of Western countries are interested in Poland's admission to the International Monetary Fund. This was precisely the reason Washington found it necessary to lift its earlier objections.

Will the International Monetary Fund be able to cure Poland's economy? It can certainly help considerably to revive the economy. But much will depend also on the modernization of Poland's products offered for export and on making them more attractive to customers. It is estimated that by 1990 Poland's foreign debt may increase to \$30-33 billion. The sad truth is that debts must always be paid back.

CSO: 2600/514

POLAND

DEFERMENT OF MILITARY SERVICE FOR AGRICULTURAL PURPOSES

Warsaw GROMADA-ROLNIK POLSKI in Polish No 141, 22 Nov 84 p 7

[Text] The editors are receiving quite a lot of letters asking about standing rules and the procedure of granting deferments of basic military service. We therefore propose to explain these regulations.

A conscript is entitled to deferment of basic military service if he has under his direct care the members of his family included in the first disability group, that is, parents, grandparents, wife, his own or adopted children whose upbringing and maintenance he is to provide (also within a foster family), and brothers and sisters. This applies to children and siblings that are below 16 years of age. Also considered as a member of the family is a person who had brought up and maintained the conscript for a period of at least 3 years before he attained 18 years of age, if that person was included in the first disability group by the medical board for matters of employment and disability. In order that a conscript be recognized as having direct charge of the members of his family enumerated above, two additional conditions must be fulfilled: a) those persons live together with the conscript, and b) in the place of their residence there is no other member of the family capable of replacing the conscript in the exercise of this care.

A deferment of basic military service for agricultural purposes is granted to a conscript if he fulfills jointly the three following conditions:

1. The running of the farm depends on the personal work of the conscript;
2. Not taken into account in this case are those members of the family who are capable of such work, if they work in their acquired profession or on their own farm, for which reason their work on the farm being run by the conscript is impossible, or if they do not live in the same locality and have set up their own families, and therefore their help in the basic agricultural work would not ensure the proper operation of the farm;
3. The operation of the farm by the conscript is the only source of maintenance for himself and his family members.

The family members incapable of replacing a conscript in carrying out the basic work in the farm are: wife, parents, grandparents and siblings. The wife fulfills the necessary conditions to grant a conscript deferment of military service if she brings up at least one of the children or siblings of the conscript aged up to 8 years, and if due to the necessity of caring for them she does not have an income and has no possibility of ensuring this care in a day-care center or preschool. On the other hand, the parents and grandparents must be 60 years (men) or 55 years (women) old, or be bringing up at least one of the conscript's children or siblings aged up to 8 years.

The parents, grandparents and wife fulfill--irrespective of their age--the conditions required by the regulations also in the case of their inclusion, by a decision of the medical board for matters of employment and disability, in the first or second disability group with a contraindication of employment (except persons working in farms of 3 hectares jointly).

The lack of professional skills of members of the conscript's family that are indispensable for running a farm is also a cause for a deferment of basic military service for the operation of a farm. The lack of these abilities is ascertained by a local agency of the primary level of the state administration, that is, the gmina office.

A deferment of military service to run a farm can also be granted to a conscript in a situation where during a 2-year period prior to the application for deferment the farm was to a great extent ruined because of a natural calamity, and restoring it to its former state without the conscript's participation would be impossible.

The application for a deferment of military service because of the necessity to take direct care of a family member is submitted to a local agency of the primary level of the state administration pertinent of over 2 months, of the member of the conscript's family under his direct care.

If the cause of a deferment should be the running of a farm, the application must be submitted to the gmina office on whose territory the farm is located.

The application is submitted on a special form and must be precisely motivated. If needed, the office receiving the application form may request the submission of additional documents attesting the verity of the data. The regional agency of the primary level state administration (a regional recruiting board) hands down a decision ascertaining the necessity of exercising direct care by the conscript of a family member or of running the farm, within 3 days of documentation of the application. This decision must contain full factual and legal substantiation.

The conscript has the right to appeal the decision of the regional agency of the primary level state administration to a provincial level state administration agency. The appeal must be submitted within 14 days of the

date of delivery of the decision. It is submitted through the intermediary of the agency that made that decision. The agency of the provincial level state administration within 7 days of the service of the appeal either maintains or sets aside the appealed decision and hands down a new decision, or turns the case over to the agency that made the decision for reconsideration.

The rules discussed here are included in a decree of the Council of Ministers of 7 September 1979, published in DZIENNIK USTAW No 3 of 10 February 1981, item 16.

1015

CSO: 2600/346

POLAND

DECISIONMAKING, ADVISORY ROLES OF WORKER COUNCILS DISTINGUISHED

Warsaw TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY in Polish No 45, 4 Nov 84 p 6

[Article by Marek Nowakowski: "Between Resolution and Decision"]

[Text] In number 41 of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE there appeared a guide for work force self-management entitled "Self-management and Life," which had been announced earlier. In it outstanding experts on the problem, already associated with self-management for many years, express their opinion. The editorial staff has announced a series of extracts from the guide, to appear once a month for the time being. In this way work force self-management can acquire significant support in its development. After all, the very first section of the guide provides many practical bits of advice and hints for worker council members on how to exercise their authority most effectively. However, we cannot be pleased with one excerpt from the article published in ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE. This concerns part of an article by Dr Bronislaw Ziemianin entitled "Relations Between Bodies," from the "Technique of Joint Management" cycle, in which the author emphatically asserts that self-management bodies made decisions in the state enterprises.

Is this really the case in the light of the compulsory regulations? An answer to this question is of fundamental importance, because it strikes at the heart of work force participation in managing a state enterprise. Answering it requires recourse to the law on state enterprises. There article 33 states that the director of a state enterprise administers the enterprise and represents it on the outside. It also states that an enterprise director, acting in accordance with legal regulations, makes decisions independently and takes responsibility for them.

The following consequences stem from the regulations of this article: first, that the director manages the enterprise; second, that decisions in an enterprise are made by the director; and third, that the director is responsible for all decisions made in the enterprise.

In the light of these provisions, where does the self-management body fit? Well, first of all it is necessary to recall that the work force participates in management, but does not manage the enterprise. This is an essential difference. Article 15 of the PRL Constitution and article 1 of the law

on self-management of a state enterprise work force leave no doubt on this matter.

In no regulation does this law use the concept of decision with respect to self-management, because they do not make decisions in an enterprise. The only form of expression of the will of work force self-management bodies is the resolution. Depending on the matters which the resolution concerns, these may be of a diverse nature: advisory (in the area of affairs mentioned in article 10 and article 25 of the law on work force self-management), expressing an opinion (articles 11 and 25 of the law), suggestive or initiative (article 27), or concerning the conduct of control over the activity of an enterprise (article 28). But this will always be a resolution, not a decision. On the other hand, an advisory resolution is transformed into a decision only after being forwarded to the enterprise director who, in the sense of article 37, paragraph 2, executes the resolutions of the worker council. The director can take only two positions with respect to an advisory resolution of the council. If he has no reservations with regard to the resolution he is obliged to carry it out, but he may also, and this should be remembered, question the resolution and initiate a controversy over it, following the procedure of articles 41, 44, 46 and 46 of the law on work force self-management.

The presence of an enterprise director at a council meeting, at which a resolution is made, is not a sufficient argument to assume that the director will not question it, and that it then becomes an obligatory decision, because the director can return to the council for another appraisal of the matter after becoming familiar with the council resolution. If the council maintains its position, the director can decide within 14 days to appoint an arbitration commission to settle the question which has come up against this background (article 45, paragraph 2).

It is worth calling attention to the fact that, besides the formal provisions regulating details, the logical nature of the state enterprise organization, for whose fate the director of the enterprise takes complete responsibility, determines who makes decisions in the enterprise and when the self-management bodies' resolutions are transformed into decisions. He is also responsible for decisions which he makes on the basis of the advisory resolutions of the self-management bodies.

It is difficult to acknowledge that self-management bodies can make decisions in the area of their advisory authority, with a simultaneous lack of responsibility for them. Article 33 of the law on state enterprises leaves no doubt about this matter, stating clearly in paragraph 2 that decisions in an enterprise are made by its director. The fact that work force self-management bodies make resolutions and that the enterprise director makes decisions is also consistently distinguished in the regulations of the law on work force self-management, for example, in articles 39, 40, 41, 42, 43 and 44.

This is also rendered particularly clear in article 36 of the law, which refers to the cooperation of enterprise bodies with the trade union. This article prescribes that, whenever resolutions of work force self-management bodies or decisions of the director enter the area of trade union activity, the enterprise bodies are obliged to enable the trade unions to take a stand on these matters before they are adopted.

Thus, in conclusion, it must be asserted that there is only one unambiguous answer to the question of who makes decisions in an enterprise: the enterprise director makes the decisions. He does this independently and is responsible for their effects. In this connection the director is obliged to make decisions in accord with the regulations of the law. And the regulations of the law, in particular the law on work force self-management of a state enterprise, state that the director makes decisions on the basis of the resolutions of the bodies in the area of matters coming under the advisory authority of the work force self-management bodies.

Then it is possible to raise the question of why there should be such detailed discrimination between decisions and resolutions with respect to the individual bodies of an enterprise. After all, in the final analysis, in matters referring to the advisory authority, for example, of a worker council, the decisions of a director may only be the same as the resolutions that the council adopts. Even in a situation where the director initiates a controversy with a specific council resolution, the director may not make a decision in a given matter without the worker council resolution.

In any case, it is worth introducing this distinction for at least a few reasons.

The first reason, the most important one in my opinion, is the need to observe the law and not to treat its regulations in an offhand way, which would easily lead to disrespect and abuse of it. Since the legislature has decided to endow the enterprise director with the right to make decisions and has laid complete responsibility on him for their effects, there is no reason to presume that it is otherwise, even if this "otherwise" were very desirable.

The second reason is a practical one. If the self-management workers are to perform the tasks presented to them effectively, they have to have a clear understanding of what instruments are available to them, particularly in such a fundamental matter as making decisions in an enterprise. Let us imagine for a moment that there is freedom in this matter and that an assembly of delegates in some enterprise--recognizing that it can make decisions--makes a distribution of the profits assigned to the work force, which is authorized and compulsory (article 10, paragraph 2 of the law on self-management). Now which of the delegates, recognizing that the meeting has made a decision, would simply take this resolution to the enterprise pay office to collect the compensation and bonuses for the work force? Would the paymaster be able to make this payment? There is no doubt that he not only could not, but also that no paymaster would do so. So, before

it is sent to the director, is the resolution of the delegates' meeting on the subject of the distribution of profits a decision or not? There is no doubt that it is not. It is a resolution which can be converted into a decision after it is forwarded to the enterprise director, who will authorize its execution or question it. No other argumentation can meet the test of criticism or practice.

Thus there is no reason to spread the conviction through the work force that self-management bodies can make a decision, because this is not the case.

The third reason, a strategic one, is that the participation of the work force in enterprise management has been organized for the third time in the postwar period. The two previous attempts were unsuccessful. This has certainly happened for many complex reasons. I think that one of them is the fact that self-management has always had at least as many opponents as supporters. And this is true now. Therefore, in order to defend self-management effectively against attempts to liquidate it, it is also necessary, in my opinion, to see that self-management does not overstep its authority, but guards its domain without simultaneously providing any reasons for a charge that it is abusing this authority. This very attitude is represented today by the worker council members. I say this on the basis of the fact that there has never been a case of suspension of a self-management body on the basis of the authority of article 9 of the law on special legal regulation.

The role of the advisors, then, is to make the self-management workers aware of the instruments which they have at their disposal, but also of the barriers and limitations which really exist. I have been trying to do this for more than a year in the guide. For there is no worse form of counseling than to create the illusion in the person being counseled that he has and can do more than is factually the case. For this very reason, I take the liberty of calling attention, in the light of the currently compulsory regulations, to the difference between making a decision and making a resolution in a state enterprise.

In distinguishing the forms of administration and joint administration of an enterprise mentioned above, just like the author of the article in ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, I consider all enterprise bodies to have an equally important position in it. This means that they are not hierarchically positioned with respect to each other. Nevertheless, the forms of their influence on the fate of the enterprise are different.

6806

CSO: 2600/201

YUGOSLAVIA

PROFESSOR DJORDJEVIC'S INTERVIEW IN DUGA ASSAILED

Zagreb POLET in Serbo-Croatian 7, 14, 21 Dec 84

[Article by Mladen Babun: "The Constitution Eats Little Children"]

[7 Dec 84 p 5]

[Text] It is a well-known fact that people's consciousness is determined by their social existence. That was Marx's observation. Were we to write that people's consciousness is a reflection of social existence, they would accuse us of the Stalinist version of the theory of cognition. It is impossible, you will agree, for people's consciousness to be altered under the mechanical pressure of reality. Yet in the case of Jovan Djordjevic something which appears to be utterly unlikely is nevertheless happening. It turns out that in a period of just 1 year his consciousness of the most crucial issues, matters which are extremely complicated, has undergone fundamental change.

We hope that the article below will show quite clearly how much change Jovan Djordjevic's thought has undergone. Nevertheless, it is not our primary aim to prove that Djordjevic is a man who turns out to be an unstable person even on matters which have fateful importance to the lives of millions of people in our country and which have been the subject even of bloody conflicts in the history of our nationalities. Much more interesting is the way in which an old and experienced fox presents this and which forces exerted the pressure that made him decide to change his opinion on short notice. Those forces are very large and they are not outside the system, since Jovan Djordjevic is not one to make a choice easily.

This time the decision taken was to disavow the constitution and all those who created it in the worst possible way. So, this is more an article about the forces whose instrument Djordjevic would be than about him as such.

Until recently it was almost impossible to write (in the newspapers) about the "crisis" without a qualification to the effect that it might be boring, might be repetitive, or might even be futile. Today, now that we have "progressed" more and more every day, to write without talking about the "system and crisis" is to waste one's time in idle chatter.

Regardless of the outcome, that is the topic on the agenda. Just as "Dynasty" has for months been on the TV schedule and in special issues of certain popular magazines. In our effort to keep up-to-date, but also to set aside for readers of POLET the most interesting details of the marathon series from week to week, we find ourselves hard put: What is the most important thing for young people, and what arouses them the most?

Sources: SL, SOCIJALIZAM, DUGA

This week we were helped out by DUGA, an illustrated newspaper (No 281). It is DUGA that goes furthest in its interviews, this time it presented us Dr Jovan Djordjevic, member of the academy, professor and "dean of our political science." We must, of course, limit ourselves to a few quite small segments from an extensive interview that touched upon numerous topics, concepts, categories and reflections. But we believe that even though detached, they will be sufficiently attractive and that the contradictions we intend to point up will leave enough room for reflection and independent conclusions. (For a more thorough inquiry we suggest the articles which we intend to quote in part. Aside from the issue of DUGA we have mentioned (pp 10-14), they are also the journal SOCIJALIZAM (No 9, 1983, pp 1318-1346) and STUDENTSKI LIST [SL] (No 784, 16 April 1981, p 12). Whereas DUGA used the form of an interview with Academician Djordjevic, SOCIJALIZAM published an article written by Jovan Djordjevic entitled "Creation of the 1974 Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia." More than 3.5 years ago SL published an article entitled "The Age of Creation" about a book which J. Djordjevic published in 1977.)

We begin this commentary, then, quite aware that the task is an ambitious one for the purposes of a newspaper presentation, but we are also aware of the fact that no sort of final conclusions are possible. In the social division of labor we only assume the obligation of pointing to the problem and of encouraging a constructive discussion. But it will not be boring to read.

In the interviews which Jovan Djordjevic gave to DUGA he offers a number of sentences that arouse an interest in precisely this kind of survey. For example:

"If, then, we have more solidarity, more emphasis on knowledge, on an honest attitude toward the interests of this society, if the struggle for power has been replaced by a struggle for the truth and community, if the committed, courageous and able man has the principal role, regardless of where he was born and what nationality he belongs to.... Not on the basis of representative quotas and statistics, but on the basis of ethics, culture, knowledge, more membership in the community than fighting for one's own benefits and interests--then there is every chance of getting out of the crisis."

Aside from all the possible and justified objections which might be made, let us show the utmost honesty and good intentions and take these sentences as a motto. Take, for example, the 1974 SFRY Constitution and certain circumstances related to it. Here is what J. Djordjevic says about this in the interview published in DUGA:

"My share has been rather significant from the first to the last constitution. In that sense I gave everything I knew, because I believed in those constitutions, especially in the 1963 Constitution. In the case of the 1974 Constitution at the outset I had the role of the designer of the structure of the constitution and the drafter of certain basic principles. However, later I took a rather critical attitude toward certain principles and positions related to the constitution and in the constitution, so that I was forced at the last moment to withdraw. To be sure, to some extent others did in fact 'withdraw' me, I was not exactly a welcome sight among them! So that although I feel that I am responsible to a considerable extent even for this constitution, I did not participate in it with all my strength and all my thought."

The same author wrote in an essentially different vein about his work involved in enactment of the 1974 Constitution in the issue of SOCIJALIZAM we have mentioned. Here is a quote:

SOCIJALIZAM '83: Better Solutions in the '74 Constitution

"Aside from the discussion of the basic issues contained in the constitutional proposal or draft and its adoption, the Constitutional Commission in plenary session discussed and approved, or supplemented and amended various positions and formulations proposed by the subcommissions. When the commission debated the various controversial and delicate issues, individual responsible political officials of the republics and the Federation also participated in the session. Some of those sessions were chaired by the president of the Republic himself, Josip Broz Tito."

And further:

"Ideological and political contradictions were not manifested in the work of the Constitutional Commission, so that it was not possible to ascertain the conflict and more essential controversies between groups and individuals concerning the structure of the Federation and self-management as essential problems which the constitution was called upon to deal with by defining several systematic, lasting and optimum solutions."

It is obvious that in a relatively short interval Dr Djordjevic has arrived at an essentially different interpretation of how the work was done on the constitution. In one version there was no conflict, while in the more recent one he was forced to withdraw, that is, he was "withdrawn" from work on the constitution. Although we are dealing with a professional article on the one hand and an interview for the newspapers on the other, there is nothing we can do but to accept both statements and attempt to [find] more subtle and less personal suggestions concerning the influences, solutions and concepts contained in the SFRY Constitution which is now in effect.

For example, Professor Djordjevic does not agree with himself even on the matter of "influences" during the drafting of the constitution. In answer to the question: "Were your critical objections to the solutions contained in the constitution rejected with arguments, since you had offered arguments?" came the answer:

DUGA '84: The Arguments Did Not Stick

"No. There was no discussion of my objections and criticism, they simply were not honored. The 'argument' was the vote of the majority, that is, the position of those who had greater influence in making the constitution than I did."

Which was immediately followed by a new question: "You are referring to people in what we call day-to-day politics?" And a brief answer:

"Yes, these were people in day-to-day politics, but also certain legal experts who are more or less bound to those people."

Just 1.5 years earlier Djordjevic's assessments were diametrically opposite. It is not out of the way for us to quote a lengthy passage of the article in the journal SOCIJALIZAM, which deals with the same topic: the influence and mutual cooperation of a large number of individuals in constitutional commissions and subcommissions:

SOCIJALIZAM '83: An Honest Discussion Was Conducted

"Tito's participation in creating the constitution did not eliminate the role and influence of his collaborator's, nor of the specialists, especially the political scientists and legal experts. Although his authority in the sphere of political theory was undisputed, Kardelj maintained an atmosphere of discussion, and indeed even of confrontation, in all cases when there was doubt that the problem had been well defined or that agreement could be reached easily and quickly. He would in fact demonstrate his ability to listen to someone else even when he did not agree with him and to change his opinion when the evidence was no longer in his favor.

"It was thanks to this way of thought and behavior that the constitution was adopted without essential disputation in the Constitutional Commission or in the Assembly, nor indeed even in the public, especially during the public debate. The mutual tolerance between the politicians and the theoreticians, especially the legal experts, also had some influence here. This kind of tolerance did not allow hierarchy in influence, but it presupposed respect for the knowledge, influence and contribution of the participants, groups and individuals....

"... The process of creating a constitution under such conditions shows that it is often quite difficult to reach better solutions and agreement if there are no preliminary confrontations, arguments and counterarguments.

"Without that mode of thought, a constitution is not created, but is prescribed and dictated, especially in societies which are not pluralistic."

We are again in a situation, then, where we have to accept both of these positions and enter into yet another search, this time, for example, concerning yet another fundamental issue and the manner in which it was resolved in the very text of the constitution.

There is no doubt that everything written in the constitution is intended for people and that the position of "man" is the most important. Here is what J. Djordjevic said about that for DUGA:

DUGA '84: Man Has Lost His Value

"Man has lost his value in this entire system. I spoke about that in a discussion at the School of Political Sciences. I said that man is the one who is the searcher for ideas and truth and who is at the same time the unifier. The representative delegations, then, as they stand, represent disunifying forces, since they operate according to certain orders, according to certain orders fixed in advance.... But man is the one who is in conflict with thought, with new knowledge and challenges, who discovers even his own possible weaknesses and is ready to contribute something, to seek out something in common. Community is not the sum of the republics, nor can the sum of their representative delegations result in true community; community can be arrived at by people who think the same way, want the same thing, who belong to this society regardless of the republic or province they come from. Man is the one who is the creator of unity and community, and not of an institution."

Again SOCIJALIZAM, and again an opposite position:

SOCIJALIZAM '83: The Humanism of the Constitution

"The humanism of the constitution is also expressed in the premise to the effect that man is at the center of society as its basic driving force and value. What is new about that humanism is that it goes beyond individualism and economism. The constitution had in mind man who is someone else's end, not his means."

And yet again it is clear that we cannot decide which view we can accept. Although it would be less complicated to analyze the moral grounding of the professor's back-somersault, we will leave all of that for later. The texts, that is, provide occasion for analysis of the destiny of certain political solutions. Academician Djordjevic recalled the distant seventies as follows for DUGA:

DUGA '84: Dualism for the Provinces Is a Shortcoming

"I did not agree, for example, with the intermingling of confederation and federation, since as a professor I cannot allow myself, although I was aware that there is no pure federation or pure confederation, that there is no pure system either in society or in biology, but I felt that a dualism like that was not functional in our own practical experience, was not operational, that it would create problems."

The view of the most urgent concept in the debates about the system today: the socialist autonomous province--is described most dramatically in the last article. The answer to the question: "Why was that not 'elaborated and precisely stated' in the constitution, who contributed to that, and how and why did they do so?" was this:

"This is not the first time that I have expressed my own skepticism as to the dualism which was introduced for the autonomous provinces--in that they are simultaneously autonomies and states, but I pointed this out at length at the time when the constitution was drafted....

"... The dualism of concepts results in a dualism in practice and consequently shortcomings in both practice and the system."

It is not unusual, but "normal" that this problem should be treated oppositely in SOCIJALIZAM:

SOCIJALIZAM '83: The Solutions in the Constitution Are Scientifically Substantiated

"At the same time extremisms did emerge among us in the debate and in certain of the views and solutions, especially in the subcommissions: between bureaucratic centralism and human spontaneity, between idealism and confederalism, between the rights of the ethnic minorities to self-determination and national states.

"These attitudes were more sharply drawn and one of these extremisms was adopted because of a continuing failure to clear up concepts and differences between centralism and centralization, between unitarianism and centralism; between federalism and confederalism and between federalism and autonomy; between the state and home rule, between freedom and tyranny, between rights and responsibilities.

"In the speeches and interventions by the individual members of the commissions and subcommissions an attempt was made to clear up these concepts and differences, which in the case of adoption of scientifically substantiated solutions contributed to the originality and coherence not only of the draft, but also of the final text of the present-day SFRY Constitution."

What has happened in the last 2 years to drive this respected scholar and expert on the practical aspects of the law, the author of certain of the provisions in all the constitutions of the new Yugoslavia, to begin an aggressive tirade against his own most recent "offspring." Is this only one of the attempts to impose a discussion about the "system" in a very definite (but inappropriate) way? It is certain that no sensible man is against discussion: the difficulties are behind the door, young people are having particular difficulty dealing with them, but there are also attempts at manipulation. As Dr Djordjevic puts it: "The word 'system' is ambiguous. Pejoratively, it can even signify a trick." One of the versions in which he allegedly pulled off a "trick" is self-management.

"We did not succeed in working out a concept of the self-managed society, so that our self-management is still a facade. It is not a factor in organizing and creating. We have not managed to create, though that was our duty, checks on political power arising out of self-management."

This might at first seem to be the essence of our problems.

If we look for the shades of meaning, this assessment can be the point of departure for movement in all directions. But the statement, in the context of the other answers to DUGA's questions, has a clear direction: Go back to the previous solutions. Self-management is possible in principle, but we have to go back to earlier positions, to remove certain limits. The working class has nothing to gain from a detour around the 1974 Constitution. But Jovan Djordjevic does not mention the working class at all.

Why Copy Self-Management?

Self-management is mentioned, as we have already quoted. It is an open question and on this occasion an altogether apt one: Does the speaker know what he is speaking of? Seven years ago and 3.5 years ago that knowledge of self-management was as follows, according to the article in STUDENTSKI LIST:

"We are speaking about the plagerism of Dr Jovan Djordjevic, professor, in the journal mentioned (No 1, 1977). At that time Dr Djordjevic published an essay in political theory entitled 'The Creation and Influence of Self-Management Thought' (running from p 141 to p 158 in the journal MARKSISTICKA MISAO--M. B.). The essay consists of 770 lines (including footnotes, since they were abundantly taken from the original). All of 443 lines were literally copied, which is more than half of the essay. Djordjevic took abundant inspiration for his essay from a book by the young French theoretician Pierre Rosanvallon, 'Doba samoupravljanja' [The Age of Self-Management]. This book, which has 184 pages, was published in 1976 in Paris, in the small-format series 'Politics' of the well-known publishing house Say."

[14 Dec 84 p 5]

[Text] The introductory part of the article in STUDENTSKI LIST (No 784, 16 April 1981), which we gave at the end of the first installment concerning Dr Jovan Djordjevic, we will be going back to now at greater length. This quotation, we hope, will show convincingly enough that this is a method of operation and activity which accommodates all the improbable change of views which we have illustrated by comparing the article from SOCIJALIZAM (No 9, 1983) and the interview for DUGA some 10 days ago.

So that we might be convincing, we copy this from STUDENTSKI LIST:

"... then come pages which without any exaggeration are the height of arrogance. [The author], a doctor and a professor, has woven into 'his' essay even the extensive bibliography of the young French theoretician. So that we might check out this assertion as well, let us go further in comparing the texts. On p 148 of the journal MARKSISTICKA MISAO there are in all 64 lines

of text (again including the footnotes, since even they were taken from the book by Pierre Rosanvallon), and 42 lines were copied."

Did Djordjevic Read These Books?

This is Djordjevic:

"Many works have been devoted to the experience of self-management, especially in Yugoslavia (in the footnote: 'M. Drulovic, "Samoupravljanje na delu" [Self-Management in Practice], Fayard, 1973; Albert Meister, "Kuda ide jugoslovensko samoupravljanje" [Where Is Yugoslav Self-Management Headed], Anthropos, 1971'). S. Kulitskije published an important doctoral thesis on the experience with self-management in Algeria, 'Man and the State' (in the footnote: 'S. Kulicinski, "Samoupravljanje, Covek i Drzava" [Self-Management, Man and the State], Mouton, 1974'), which offers a rather profound analysis of certain rare experiences developed in this country. The books devoted to the experiences with workers' councils in Poland in 1956 or in Czechoslovakia in 1968 should also be an object of attention (in the footnote: 'Andre Nano, "The Workers' Councils in Poland," Armand Kolen, 1960; Pavel Tigrid, "Prasko prolece" [Prague Spring], Say, 1960'). These books are a good introduction to the topic to which numerous articles have been devoted. On the withering away of the councils in the Soviet Union, the study by O. Snvojler (in the footnote: 'Oskar Anvajler, "Sovjeti u Rusiji" [The Soviets in Russia], Gallimard, 1972') is an indispensable initial document. The cooperative movement has been the topic of numerous publications. Henri Dezos has published several works in France devoted to this question as well as to the question of 'realized utopias' in various movements of 'communities' during the 19th and 20th centuries, especially in France and in the United States."

This is Rosanvallon, on pp 181-182:

Djordjevic Certainly Read This

"Numerous works have also been devoted to the experience of self-management. In the case of Yugoslavia we can refer to 'Samoupravljanje na delu' by J. Drulovic (Fayard, 1973) and to another study by Albert Meister, 'Kuda ide jugoslovensko samoupravljanje' (Anthropos, 1971). S. Kulicinski (and not Kulitski, as Djordjevic wrote--note by Z. P.) has published an important thesis on the Algerian experience, 'Samoupravljanje, Covek i Drzava' (Mouton, 1974), which proposes a more thorough analysis of several rare experiences which have developed in that country. Experiences with councils in Poland in 1956 or in Czechoslovakia in 1968 also deserve attention: 'Radnicki saveti u Poljskoj' by Andre Babois (and not Nano, as Djordjevic wrote--note by Z. P.) and 'Prasko prolece' by Pavel Tigrid (Say, 1960) are good introductions to a topic to which numerous articles have been devoted. On the dying out of the councils in the Soviet Union the study by Oskar Anvajler, 'Sovjeti u Rusiji' (Gallimard, 1972) is an indispensable basic document. The cooperative movement has also been the subject of numerous publications. Andri Deroche (and not Henri Dezos--note by Z. P.) has published several works devoted to this question and to the question of 'realized utopias in various communitarian movements in the 19th and 20th century, above all in France and the United States.'"

Djordjevic also owes all 39 lines on p 149, down to the last word, to the young Rosanvallon. The procedure was identical--all 45 lines were copied.

Here is Djordjevic:

Djordjevic Copied It Wrong

"On the question of government power, many writings afford a better understanding of its instruments. Reuch's contribution (sic!) is important because of the analysis of the conditions of interiorization of authority and the desire for a security expressed by acceptance of the structure of hierarchical offerings. His study on the 'Mass Psychology of Fascism' (Payot, 1974), even though it contains numerous debatable views, has broken new ground. Gherard Mendel, the founder of social psychoanalysis, is today continuing to work along those lines."

And this is Rosanvallon:

"On the question of government power, numerous works are now helping in getting a better understanding of its instruments. W. Reich's contribution remains important to an analysis of the conditions for interiorization of authority and the desire for security which is expressed by the acceptance of the structure of hierarchical coercions. His study on the 'Mass Psychology of Fascism' (Payot, 1974), in spite of numerous debatable aspects, has opened up new ground. Gerard Mandel (and not Gherard, as Djordjevic wrote), the founder of sociopschoanalysis, is continuing to work along those lines today...."

The next page of the journal, p 151, contains 43 lines, 34 of which were copied from Rosanvallon.

And so on, and so on....

So, while POLET has used this time machine to merely make it possible for you to become more familiar with one work in Dr Djordjevic's opus (the credit for which goes to those who have read Rosanvallon, the leading French theoretician concerning self-management, today and much earlier), POLET has not been alone either in following the same author's activity this year. At a recent plenum of the Serbian LC Central Committee Comrade Vukasin Loncar, member of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, spoke about Djordjevic. His contribution to the discussion was published only by VECERNJE NOVOSTI. We quote, then, from the sole source, that paper's issue published on Sunday, 25 November 1984:

Djordjevic Delivers Lectures

"Following the remark that all the outstanding issues in the League of Communists must be spoken about openly so as to resolve them more quickly, Vukasin Loncar said that the Central Committee cannot carry out an action successfully unless it has unity on the basic issues of the development of self-management. And a constant fight must be waged for that unity."

"It is clear even now that quite a considerable range of differing political commitments and motives are surfacing more and more: from dyed-in-the-wool unitarists, separatists, pseudoleftists and all those others who hold that 'the worse it is, the better it is,'" Loncar said. "They are all united in disputing our fundamental values. Most frequently we recognize among them those who dispute the commitments contained in the constitution. Our public has been deluged with that kind of criticism day after day.

"A year ago Dr Jovan Djordjevic, professor, had this to say about the SFRY Constitution in the journal SOCIJALIZAM (No 9): 'Yugoslavia's present constitution is not only new, but to a considerable extent it is an original political and legal document.' The unity of the Federation as a community, as expressed in the constitution, is without elements of hierarchy. It can be stated that the participation of the Constitutional Commission in drafting the constitution was creative and political. Less than a month ago Professor Djordjevic had this to say on the same topic, as carried by the press: 'I am sorry that the political system has been added to our political vocabulary, and I am ashamed.' It has become a trick that everyone is using today. The first characteristic of our system," Loncar said, "is manifested in the fact that for years we have been strengthening the Federation, but we have a confederation, we have been building a self-managing society, but we are strengthening the bureaucracy. What is one to believe now upon learning that both things were uttered by the man who has been one of the collaborators in drafting the constitutions in all the years since the war? I would not like to speak about the moral aspect of this issue. But isn't this just another addition to the confusion being created in the public over our constitution and the political system as a whole?"

Who Is Djordjevic Fronting For?

"I personally think," Loncar said, "that the discussions for and against the changes are only an external expression of a state of insufficient differentiation within the LC on the essential issues of the struggle for self-management. More disturbing than anything else is how loudly, aggressively, and almost in unison the attempt is being made to prevent criticism of advocates of changes of the fundamental commitments contained in the constitution. Under the motto 'Don't Pin on Labels' such labels are being pinned on as defenders of the revolution, defenders of the constitution, obstinate bureaucrats, and thus individuals are inquiring into our revolution and our revolutionary past in the name of democracy. It is disturbing to see the increasing strength of bourgeois ideology and nationalistic consciousness, which contest our theoretical thought and political practice, which separate and attack Tito and Kardelj.

"Where is this leading? Our people should be frankly told who those individuals are who are seeking reassessment of the role of the leader of our revolution, who are saying that Yugoslavia between the wars was better than the Yugoslavia we have now. Aren't we dealing here with a scenario written outside for the so-called post-Tito period in order to destabilize Yugoslavia, in order to frighten the communists and all the progressive people."

As this statement shows, we are dealing with several statements by J. Djordjevic from the same positions, and now finally comes DUGA, which goes the furthest.

Before we get to DUGA, we will first quote again from SOCIJALIZAM. This time the part that speaks about the new concept of the constitution:

SOCIJALIZAM '83: Social Constitution, Production and Distribution

"Yugoslav constitutional law has made an important change of direction in this respect, introducing elements of a new concept of the constitution. This was first expressed in the 1963 Constitution, and then still more fully in the present constitution. The constitution is making the transition from the purely or predominantly political plane to the social plane.

"The emergence of this, if we may so put it, 'social constitution' or 'constitution of society' resulted from the political and ideological emancipation of Yugoslavia and from the independent and self-sufficient position it took up in the system of socialist states. This emancipation was achieved both in resisting Stalin's hegemony and also in the determination of the nationalities of Yugoslavia to establish their own constitution and live in harmony with their socialist and democratic aspirations and on the basis of their freedom-loving traditions.

"But the basis and backbone of that concept of the social constitution is self-management as a new relationship in production and distribution of the income created in economic and other organizations of associated labor and thereby a new and radically altered relationship between the constitution and the state. The constitution becomes a kind of charter of society and regulates basic social relations, from economic relations to political and cultural relations. The state is a part of that social complex, not its prevailing form.

"This has at the same time tended to reduce the traditional normativeness of the constitutions. Yugoslavia's Constitution contains even a 'philosophy' of a form of socialism: self-management socialism. It is not a static and positivist document, since it also formulates a view toward changes which the constitution, as a social political force, is supposed to facilitate in the conquest of new areas of socialism, democracy and freedom on the road to communism."

So, Djordjevic has celebrated the new year by treating DUGA and its readers to a new (need we mention it at all), but not original view:

DUGA '84: The Constitution Is Cumbersome, the Economy Is an Appendage

"I also felt that this constitution is too cumbersome, lengthy and complicated for effective application. I was against having many socioeconomic provisions incorporated into it, since it is not in the nature of a constitution to resolve economic issues, which are always variable, and in which a kind of stabilization signifies a certain conformism and encapsulization, which later cause conflicts and prevent society from developing."

Even though he today feels that quite a few years ago he felt that the constitution would be difficult to apply and that it would prevent society from developing, Professor Djordjevic also expressed this feeling just a little more than a year ago:

SOCIJALIZAM '83: Application of the Constitution Is Essential

"The character of the constitution is revealed and confirmed in its interpretation and application. Much more concerning the specific individual and human relations than in an abstract theoretical interpretation, to whatever extent it might be based on a scientifically rational methodology. This also applies to the legal language, which becomes alienating.

"This conception of the constitution calls for essential changes in the theory and teaching of law in general, but especially in constitutional law in Yugoslavia. The primary weakness of legal science and of the teaching of law is that it seeks the life of a constitution and of the law in texts, rather than to seek its value in principles derived from views which are often abstract and dogmatic....

"... Procedure, Marx emphasized, is the life of the law, but not as mere form, as a description of a line of action, but as a set of the conditions and the way of life of the law, that is, the procedure of its realization.

"The theory of application and interpretation, that is, of the realization, of a constitution, must become an integral part of legal theory and legal science. In this the science of socialist constitutional law differs from traditional legal theory and becomes a form of materialistic dialectics. Only this kind of teaching of the law becomes functional and useful, and the lawyer becomes a builder of the law and a spokesman of freedoms."

The same professor himself gives testimony that not much has been achieved in this regard, since he made this statement to DUGA about young people:

DUGA '84: Science Is No Good and Old-Fashioned

"You know, academic science is still conventional and conservative. It is not producing the new man in the mass, the new intellectual, since it itself is old-fashioned. When I say this, I am not speaking about this as of some general rule, since there are scientists, professors, and seminars which do nurture sound critical thought, where certain people emerge who are willing to help this society in those new developments. But the majority of what is produced at our schools at the university--this is still a group of people who are obliging civil servants."

Given the melancholy possibility that Dr Jovan Djordjevic, has as professor educated and trained two "groups of obliging civil servants" who might (if that is so) enter into a serious conflict blindfolded and with empty heads, we end the second installment of our survey of certain typical views of the prestigious academician and (obviously) of those who think like him as well.

[21 Dec 84 p 8]

[Text] What is one to write at the end of this attempt to demystify the public activity of a number of persons whose most conspicuous representative is Dr Jovan Djordjevic? What is the interest and what is the aim of these statements? And in what moral and intellectual code do these interests find their changeable spokesmen?

Culture, Science, Women

It would seem that J. Djordjevic is stating his attitude in concentrated form when he says in DUGA:

"Djordjevic: I feel that the multiparty system in our complicated situation--both ethnic and regional and religious and so on--would not bring anything new in either psychological or political terms, but would on the contrary complicate the problem still more. I am for the kind of League of Communists which is the vehicle of those basic tendencies toward creation of a progressive, socialist and democratic society. But what is being criticized is the monopoly of the League of Communists on the one hand, and its exclusiveness on the other. In my opinion, the League of Communists can revitalize itself, refresh itself, become more vital if it incorporates those organized forces which are the vehicles of certain new views and interests. So I think that representatives of culture, of science, of women, as well as of those groups which are fighting for a clean and healthy natural and social environment should enroll in the League of Communists on an equal basis. Everything that has crystallized as a collective demand, action and thought should be included in the League of Communists. That is the way of creating a pluralistic structure in it, a structure that would revive it and prevent the elements of conformity and uniformity from becoming encrusted in it...."

The League of Communists, then, is the target beyond which the ultimate goal is supposed to be reached. Separate the LCY from its essence and supposedly make it possible, with the help of women, the green movement, representatives of culture--organized forces and new views--the slow (every day more nervous) distancing of the party from the working class.

New and Original

Exactly a year ago (especially in connection with the 1974 Constitution) everything seemed essentially different even to Djordjevic:

"The first Yugoslav constitutions, enacted after the liberation war and socialist revolution, were political constitutions in the sense that they were devoted exclusively to institutionalization of the new political power and political institutions. That applies not only to the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] decisions (revolutionary decrees establishing the supreme bodies of the federal government) in 1943, but also the first constitution of the new Yugoslavia adopted in 1946. The other constitutions, such as the 1953 Constitutional Law, the 1963 Constitution and above all the present SFRY Constitution, which dates from 1974, have changed in

character and have thereby altered the very concept and method of their creation and enactment. This does not mean that they do not maintain continuity with the previous phases of Yugoslavia's social and political development and thereby with the previous constitutions. This continuity is not a mere extension, but a superseding of the earlier constitutions. In that sense Yugoslavia's present constitution is not only a new document, but to a considerable degree it is also an original political and legal document."

There Are No Women, or Culture and the Green Movement

And the author goes on to speak about the basic principles of the 1974 Constitution in detail:

"The most important structural change has to do with establishment of elementary or basic organizations of associated labor for the inalienable cells of production and decisionmaking concerning the vital interests of the associated working people within those organizations and outside them, as well as in altering the structure of assemblies and the way in which they are constituted."

As you see from this passage we have quoted, there are no women, no members of the green movement, nor cultural representatives. Or is the term "associated working people" somewhat more broad and precise?

Consequently, women, cultural representatives and those who are fighting for a clean environment are certainly included and may be exceedingly active. And that in the right way.

Borrowing

Today, closer to the end of a career than ever before, it is not out of the way to recall its beginnings.

"In the National Library in Belgrade those who are interested can find under library number II/17141 a little book by Vlastimir T. Petkovic dating from 1940, which is entitled 'Istina o "naucnom radu" Jovana Djordjevica, docenta beogradskog Pravnog fakulteta' [The Truth About the 'Scientific Work' of Jovan Djordjevic, Docent in the Belgrade School of Law]. The author, we have learned, was shot in 1941 at Banjica. The little book we have mentioned shows with full documentation how Djordjevic borrowed the texts of many authors using the same methods as in the case we have been referring to. His range was very broad: from 'Anti-Duhring,' 'Reich,' Dr Vasilij Bunic, Bartelemy, Mihels (he was attached to him even before the war), Eskar, and so on."

Even then J. Djordjevic was showing a certain insecurity and the method which was not one of his adornments throughout his career. It is just a pity that a fit of copying some 50 years ago did not remain the only such case, but has been repeated with the copying of Rosanvallon and compounded with the flip-flop in views [original reads "apartments"] in recent months, which gives us good reason to reject the recent statements by J. Djordjevic as unqualified and dangerous on matters of crucial importance to the further progressive development and progress of millions of people.

7045

CSO: 2800/153

YUGOSLAVIA

DAILY ON 'CORRECTIONS' IN HUNGARIAN DEVELOPMENT COURSE

AU231012 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jan 85 p 3

[Report "specially for POLITIKA" by TANJUG correspondent Milos Corovic]

[Excerpts] Budapest, January--Hungarians continue to think intensely about how to accelerate general, social, and economic development, in a way that will show that this development is beginning to be an affair of the masses and not just of a number or a group of people, or of only one party. Discussions held on the topic start from the premise that the state is not authorized to control the state.

The question is not in the least an easy one: How is one to realize all this in a silent, evolutionary way, without shake-ups and drastic shifts in the role of factors such as state (government), party, Patriotic People's Front, trade unions, local authorities.... Hungarians stick to the rule and practice that it is possible to guide development in a more economical and efficient direction by smaller and bigger corrections, corrections in this case not rarely implying something that is unusual in the course so far, and therefore acquiring the aspect of even a radical change.

The elections that are due this year at all levels are expected to be a serious test of political culture and tolerance with the introduction of the mechanism of the obligatory nomination of two or more candidates for one post, something that is actually of secondary importance, when, instead of the omnipotent director, even minister (the potentates), a new body is starting to "meddle" in the strategic questions of the development of the enterprise: the council of the enterprise, half of which is elected by the working collective.

Resistance that appears does not come only from those, fewer and fewer in number, who think that the first socialist surge has solved everything and that insisting on democracy in socialism means parading an outdated bourgeois category, but primarily from those who think that opening doors wider to democracy is a road to uncertainty, bringing in disorder, causing the loss of the necessary social discipline, morale, and everything positive.

"Dismantling" of the Party

Not fearing these clashes of opinion that occurring on the expanded socialist ideological and political plane, the party must, as is pointed out, more quickly

stop its operational interference and reduce its role to general guidance within its concrete responsibility for authentic socialist development along the general line.

"Dismantling" of the party in this way is not a new demand, therefore the reiterated insistence on this can only testify to the extent to which this is a long and complex task. The party congress to be held soon could make this equation of political life somewhat simpler. According to many, the fact that the problem is considered constantly open and current is also important.

Therefore, the insistence on the public nature of all discussions about the problems of society is one of the most obvious traits of this political moment. One does not have to be a shoemaker to know where a shoe pinches, someone has recently recalled Hegel's old saying.

CSO: 2800/190

YUGOSLAVIA

POLITIKA ON PRAGUE TVORBA ARTICLE ON REVISIONISM

AU181441 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jan 85 p 3

[Permanent correspondent Slavoljub Djukic report]

[Text] Prague, 11 January--There is a special feature about theoretical debates in Prague. They are never just barren theory, but frequently daily policy explained by principled orientations. In order to understand their full meaning, one should pay attention to two points: When the theoretical article was published and what examples are given to prove the know thesis.

Considering this specific language of communicating with the public, the lengthy theoretical supplement in the latest issue of the party weekly TVORBA is notable not only for its contents, but for certain new points.

We are "Revisionists"

Just as it has been doing in a series of similar articles already published, in this text, TVORBA affirms the Czechoslovak ideologies' established view of the world of socialism. At the same time, this is another attack, only more open and harsher than before, against "revisionism, Eurocommunism, social-reformism, and various variants of democratic socialism."

First of all, it is obvious that the author Ladislav Hrzal finds unacceptable any socialist practice outside of the practice of "real socialism." With the same ideological viewpoint, he condemns "revisionism" and the parties that "stress their specificities and national affiliation." According to Ladislav Hrzal, all these parties, "whether deliberately or not, are helping the bourgeoisie" and "are destroying the unity of the workers movement."

Apart from these known theses, the author goes a step beyond the already habitual ideological aversion in Czechoslovakia toward fresher currents in the communist movement. He contends that recently "revisionists have been forming blocs, not only ideologically, but also factually." They come forward--the author adds--as "an international trend, the moving force of which is anticommunism and anti-Sovietism."

Who are revisionists? From Ladislav Hrzal's stands, one can draw the unambiguous conclusion that they are all those who "search for their own roads," who decide for the "third road," Hrzal adds.

It is interesting that these views have appeared at a time when the idea of a world conference of communist and workers parties has been revived again. They are all the more peculiar for that. Namely, it is known that whenever the call for a world conference is repeated, public disputes are avoided, criticism moderated, and an illusion of unity in the workers movement created.

This time, however, Prague, which always stresses the closeness of its views with Moscow, insists on harshening the ideological struggle and enters an uncompromising criticism of different currents in the communist movement. How is one to explain this?

The very fact that many parties reject a world conference as pointless makes it possible to accept this rejection as a "logical fact." "Trends, the driving force of which are anticommunism and anti-Sovietism" have forced themselves into the workers movement, Hrzal says. If this is so, one can conclude from the text in TVORBA, those parties, therefore, have no business at a world conference.

Criticism of Italian and French Communists

In a lengthy chapter, TVORBA points out the "harmful policy" of the parties of Eurocommunist orientation. Their orientations are said to basically represent the "old bankrupt concept of rightist socialism." Exactly these parties most vociferously oppose world conference, apart from some of them frequently entering public polemics with the practice of "real socialism."

"Eurocommunism" is condemned as a unified group. In other words, the criticism is directed at all parties whose programs include the idea of Eurocommunism, that is, the development of socialism in a democratically developed society. Besides the PCI, PCF, and PCE, which gathered at the Madrid meeting, there are also the communists of Japan, England, Finland, Belgium, and Australia. The TVORBA article, however, points in particular to the Italian and French communists, the two largest communist parties in the West.

While the PCI has already been mentioned frequently as an example of the "revision of Marxism," this is the first time that the Czechoslovaks have entered into polemics with the French communists. The intentions of the PCF to maintain links with the CPSU even when there are disagreements between the two parties are respected here. This was especially considered after the PCF's support for the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. What has changed in the meantime? Is what is involved a momentary reaction to a new cooling in relations between the PCF and CPSU? Or is it another drop of bile adding to Prague's anger after the polemics carried out in France on the occasion of the book "The Kremlin and the PCF--Secret Talks?"

Recalling 1968

The Prague press failed to write about the appearance of this book of notes by one-time PCF Secretary Jean Kanapa, which deals with the talks of the PCF leaders with Brezhnev on the occasion of the military intervention of the five countries of the Warsaw Pact in the CSSR. One should not, however, doubt

Prague's displeasure because these talks were published, and even more because L'HUMANITE recalled and confirmed the PCF's assessment that in 1968 the "survival or development of socialism was not endangered."

Every assessment of this kind is seen in Prague as an attack against socialist Czechoslovakia and the policy of the country today.

The Prague press has always been in the forefront among the socialist countries of the East in criticising Eurocommunists. The raised voices and serious qualifications in the TVORBA article can be understood as a harbinger of a new ideological offensive, which, by the way, has been stressed here recently as a task of primary importance in the struggle against "modern revisionism."

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YUGOSLAVIA

POLITIKA ON EMIGRATION, TRAVEL FROM EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

AU241455 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jan 85 p 4

[Permanent correspondent Slavoljub Djukic report]

[Excerpts] Prague, 19 January--Can one expect that travels abroad will be without limitation in the East European countries soon? Such a question has not been posed publicly as yet. However, newspapers' discussions about emigration have become frequent in this part of Europe.

There were several articles about the phenomenon of emigration in Czechoslovakia in the past months.

The weekly TVORBA went furthest, by citing an opinion one can hear among citizens: "You are telling us about unemployment, economic and social problems in the West; when there is such social insecurity there, why then do these unemployed persons not emigrate to the socialist countries?"

Journalists certainly know that it is easier to ask such a question than to give a politically acceptable, and for the public, convincing answer.

Emigration from the East is frequently connected with political discontent. Researchers, however, have proved that politics are of secondary importance, unless we accept "seeking one's fortune" in the West itself as a political act.

In this respect one can explain an unusual phenomenon as well. While on the one hand the authorities prevent emigration, on the other emigration is not only approved of, but sometimes even accomplished against the will of the people concerned: Permission to leave the country is granted, and then citizenship withdrawn from the person. What is involved are dissidents who "cause troubles," whose influence is always smaller when they are outside of their native country. The Polish authorities would perhaps with pleasure allow Lech Walesa to leave the country, the same as they granted permission for this to philosopher Leszek Kolakowski some 15 years ago.

One can find such examples in all the Eastern countries. Czechoslovak dramatist Vaclav Havel was offered the post of lecturer at an American university. It is claimed that the authorities made no troubles for him. Havel remained in Prague, although his works are not accessible to the theater public.

Press Reaction

The press in the East has so far not entered into any thorough discussions on emigration. Instead, the emigrants are harshly condemned. They are usually presented as "insatiable, reckless people" who have gone to the West led by "their greed."

Along with all these accusations, under certain conditions the authorities express tolerance toward returnees. In return, the ex-emigrants give statements for the press, or tell before the eyes of the television audience what they are expected to say at such a moment. These are the stories about hard life in the West, and the golgotha they went through as emigrants.

The price of forgiveness is not small. However, some people agree to it, which shows how difficult for them is their present position as emigrants, something which implies final separation from the motherland.

The entire problem, namely, is how to leave and come back at one's own will, without a political case being made of it. Hundreds of thousands of people from various parts of the world leave their countries temporarily or permanently. They do leave but retain close connection with their homeland. However, departure from the Eastern countries at one's own will is seen as betrayal of homeland and socialism.

This bitter fact affects the people who only wish to travel freely and change their environment. They want that to be the matter of their will only, and not concerned with their relation to their homeland. The example of Hungary, which, to a great extent, made possible a free way out to the world, is edifying. The problem of emigration has ceased to exist.

Fear From Western Ideology

We have arrived to the initial question: Can one expect a total opening of the borders in the East soon? How is one to understand freer discussions about emigration?

So far, solutions have been sought in several directions:

1. The standard of living of the population has been increased;
2. Touristic trips have been made more liberal;
3. Propaganda on the hard life in capitalist society has been intensified, especially about unemployment.

All this has resulted in emigration from Eastern countries decreasing. In a way, this is contributed to by a different attitude of the West toward Eastern emigrants because of increased unemployment and social troubles.

The problem of emigration still remains, however, with unpleasant political repercussions.

In the talks we held, limited travel is usually explained by international conditions and a shortage of foreign exchange. There is, however, one more reason, probably the biggest one: fear of "mixing ideologies" and of the Western influence.

It is still early to talk about a free passport. But it is not so early as it is usually thought. One should not underestimate even the very fact that this, until recently, untouchable topic has been broached.

CSO: 2800/190

YUGOSLAVIA

PARTY DEBATE CALLS FOR 'HARD HITTING' CONCLUSIONS

AU231232 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jan 85 p 3

[D. Janstorovic Report--Quotations not attributed]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 20 January--All the Central and Provincial Committees of the LC summed up in the past month the results of the general party discussion about the draft conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee plenum. The assessments and positions of the republican and provincial party leaderships will constitute the foundation for the final formulation of the conclusions at the coming LCY Central Committee session which, it appears, will be held by the end of next month.

The decision that the original date set for the plenum (January) be postponed for a month is quite justified. It follows, above all, from the purpose of the general party debate and the content of the 13th plenum. In some 30 days, all the wealth of proposals, suggestions, and amendments by 2 million members is to be built into the text of the conclusions. Therefore, all that the communists and other working people said about the LC and society in the course of their activities through the past half year should be distilled in the most authentic way in the conclusions which will for a long time to come be a basis for overall party activities.

At this moment it is difficult to speak about the "look" of the conclusions, but it is certain that they will have to be more concrete, more hard hitting, and more binding than the draft was. This is a demand of the Yugoslav communists that must be respected. Republican, provincial, communal, and other borders, including the borders of the basic organizations of associated labor, had no influence on this position. In fact, the general party debate showed that the differences and specific traits, with which we often justify the disunity in party ranks, are much smaller. What is more, the discussion unequivocally showed that the LC membership and the widest strata of the working people and citizens do not accept, and in fact reject and condemn, the divisions that some try to bring to the Yugoslav area. The opinion prevails that ideological disunity is more present in the leaderships than among the members, and "differentiation should begin there."

If one common conclusion is to be drawn from the 6-month party discussion of the 2 million members, it undoubtedly is the following: An ideologically more

united LC, more capable of action, is demanded. The views are undivided on the need to build the LCY as a unified revolutionary organization of the workers class. Great dissatisfaction was expressed in the discussion because beneath under "the mask of a struggle for equality, republican and provincial statism and their bureaucracy are often strengthened."

The discussion about ideological unity inevitably drew attention to deviations from the principles of democratic centralism. "Evasion of democratic centralism leads to federalization of the LCY, i.e. to the republican and provincial LC organizations acting as independent and separate entities, and the impression is gained that the LCY is simply a collection of the communists of the republics and provinces. And then the national criterion understandably gains the upper hand over the class criterion." Of course, this position does not jeopardize national equality and the existence of republican and provincial LCS. It was clearly said that their existence is not a cause of the occurrences of federalization in the LCY, but the lack of unity regarding the LCY policy is.

Most criticism was "addressed" to the LCY Central Committee. All the communists, without difference and without exception, insist on a greater role of the LCY Central Committee in creating and implementing party policy. This is not a desire "to transfer the center of power," but a demand for a consistent realization of its statutory role as the highest LCY organ between two congresses.

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YUGOSLAVIA

MACEDONIAN COMMISSION VIEWS RELATIONS WITH BULGARIA

LD232324 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1820 GMT 23 Jan 85

[Text] Skopje 23 January (TANJUG)--Relations and cooperation by our country with the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the participation of the SR of Macedonia in this cooperation were discussed today at the session of the Commission for Foreign Policy Issues and Relations with Other Countries of the Macedonian Assembly, with Ljupco Samonikov in the chair.

It was noted that the SFRY, and within that framework also Macedonia, had constantly worked for the development of relations and cooperation with this neighboring country, on the well-known principles in order that outstanding issues be resolved and surmounted. However, as noted at the session, Bulgaria, despite many of our initiatives, continues to maintain a negative attitude toward Macedonia and Yugoslavia. Despite such a negative attitude of the Bulgarian side when outstanding issues are resolved, our country, and within these frameworks also Macedonia, by consistently implementing its foreign policy of good-neighborliness, continues with efforts, initiatives, and activities aimed at gradually resolving the outstanding issues with Bulgaria.

As reported, the commission extended full support to the proposed concept of the manifestation entitled "Yugoslavia in Honor of Cyril" and noted that in the activities so far, within the frameworks of this manifestation, many contents from various spheres and periods of the Macedonian culture had been presented, and that many of them had remained a lasting presence in acquainting the Italian cultural public, where this manifestation is held. Linked with the observance of Cyril's work, this manifestation provides the opportunity to emphasize the continuity of the cultural development of Yugoslav nations and nationalities.

CSO: 2800/190

YUGOSLAVIA

MACEDONIAN VETERANS DISCUSS VICTORY OVER FASCISM

LD231729 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1622 GMT 23 Jan 85

[Text] Skopje, 23 January (TANJUG)--The Presidency of the Veterans' Organization of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia today condemned attempts by some NATO member-countries in the West to neutralise the responsibility of fascist Germany for the crimes committed against many peoples in the second world war.

The Presidency likewise criticised the minimizing of the contribution of Yugoslav nations and nationalities to the victory over fascism on the part of some Warsaw Treaty member-countries.

As a session in Skopje which considered preparations for the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism, the Presidency of the republican veterans' organizations of Macedonia said that some Warsaw Treaty member-countries identify Yugoslavia's contribution in the second world war with that of the countries which for 4 years had been faithful allies of Hitler's Germany.

Voicing support to the platform for the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism, the Macedonian veterans said that the important contribution of the Yugoslav People's Army to the collapse of fascist Germany should find expressed in all the manifestations commemorating this event.

The session also pointed out that in commemorating Victory Day the Macedonian people's bitter struggle against Bulgarian fascist occupiers in the Macedonian territory should be marked. This is all the more important as contemporary Bulgaria in an unprecedented manner negates the struggle of Macedonian partisans during the second world war.

We shall not deny the contribution of foreign armies in the Yugoslav territory in the final operations for the liberation of Yugoslavia, but this contribution must be depicted in objective dimensions and in accordance with historical truth, the Presidency of the Macedonian Veterans' Organization said.

We did not have to ask anybody, "to come and liberate us." We accepted that others join us in the final struggles to overpower fascism-Bulgarians, for example, who in this way sought to wash away the sins they had committed during the war in Macedonia and other parts of the country.

YUGOSLAVIA

SERBIAN LC OFFICIALS DISCUSS NEED FOR CHANGES

LD232211 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1429 GMT 23 Jan 85

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 January (TANJUG)--One of the most important directions of implementing economic stabilization are the immediate changes which must take place in the economic practice in work and business activity of organizations or associated labor, municipalities, intermunicipal regional communities, self-managing interest communities and all others. This was stressed by Ivan Stojanovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, at today's working meeting with presidents of municipal LC Committee.

At the 18th session [of the Serbian LC Central Committee] we clearly determined that communists and working people expect and demand organized initiative, standpoints and unity of action of the LC which will truly change the present situation for the better and develop a socialist perspective--Bogdan Trifunovic, member of the Serbian LC Presidium, said when speaking about Serbian LC activities in developing the political system of socialist self-management and implementing established policy. Merely describing the situation without the struggle to change it and without the struggle to really implement the fundamental principles of our system, and this implies also a bold search for fresh answers to today's problems and contradictions and dynamic changes that will strengthen socialist self-management, is unacceptable. Thus, what is at stake are not some kind of undefined changes but clearly founded and directed changes, Trifunovic said.

The development and changes in the political system must rely on a critical analysis of the practice. Recently there have been much passive attitudes and expectations, generalized debates, postponing of specific initiatives, mutual suspicions and sniping as well as alien ideological and political views right up to more intensified manifestation of antisocialist and anti-self-managing tendencies. In the present difficult situation the LC should not wait. The debate on the proposed conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee session has pointed out the need for the LC taking more speedily and in a more united manner the initiative and action for the development of the political system, Trifunovic stressed.

Both with the 18th Serbian LC Central Committee session--Trifunovic said--and with the ideological and political action before and after the session we are resolutely parting ways and clashing with statist, centralist, separatist,

bourgeois and other alien concepts. We shall be most successful in pushing them on the sidelines of political life precisely with the LC initiative, by resolving the problems with those new self-managing and democratic aspects that we shall introduce in social relations.

Trifunovic added that the adopted attitudes of the Serbian LC Central Committee bind the Serbian LC as a whole. We must fight to have these attitudes uniformly implemented. They can be neither ignored nor called into question, and this not only by individuals but also by no organization of the Serbian LC, by no section of the Serbian LC. What is at stake here is not merely formal discipline or application of the principle of democratic centralism, though this too is involved. What this refers to is the unity of the Serbian LC, as determined in its statute and its functioning and development of the political system of socialist self-management. This is absent if the adopted attitudes and the policy of the Central Committee are ignored, rejected or selectively applied. We must not allow the prestige of the Serbian LC and its political and action ability to be undermined by actually calling into question the unanimously adopted attitudes of the Central Committee. This, Trifunovic stressed, applies to all organizations in the Serbian LC, hence in line with the existing statutory norms, also to the LCS of socialist autonomous provinces which are within the Serbian LC structure.

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YUGOSLAVIA

KUCAN SPEAKS ON LCY'S ROLE IN 'POLITICAL SYSTEM'

LD241922 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1436 GMT 24 Jan 85

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 24 January (TANJUG)--The debate on the political system has assumed general social dimensions but it has not been accompanied by corresponding activity by the LC and other socialist forces. If the present haphazardness and the practice of every idea "gaining respectability" should continue, the LC will not emerge ideopolitically more united from all this. The opposite will be the case, Milan Kucan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium stressed in his talks with journalists today. The immediate reason for his talks were the recently published attitudes of the LCY Central Committee Presidium to these issues.

The LC has not guided the course of the debate enough, there has been no timely reaction, except when some excesses are involved, and at time communists' activity has not differed from that of other forces. It is not tragic that there are differences, Kucan observed, even in the LC, but it is tragic that all these debates do not lead to the reaching of agreement, and that in seeking solutions the points of departure are not always the same ideopolitical positions.

At the 11th and 12th LCY Congresses Kucan said, we determined the aim of the changes in the political system. They are the changes which will contribute to a further speedier development of socialist self-managing social relations, equality of the nations and nationalities and the federal order of our community. Now some are asking how "to reconcile" the attitude about our not touching the foundations of our system with the attitude of our also not wanting "cosmetic" changes of the system. Cosmetics, for some, is everything which does not touch upon the fundamental values of our system. At times, in such debates, the real meaning of future changes is lost and the conclusion drawn that the changes are an end in themselves. Individual theses about the 1974 constitution having betrayed the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia principles are also not rare. Today they negate their share in "formulating" the constitution. Fortunately, Kucan said, their contribution has not been great. This only shows that the unproductive division into "constitution defenders" and "reformers" has not yet been overcome. He believes that some issues are today unnecessarily politicized because concrete debates show that the differences are not all that great.

It seems that it is customary today to invent a thesis, then immediately add an antithesis, and then debate it at length.

We must say publicly that the debate on the political system is not a river without banks. The banks are the constitutional principles and there can be no "flooding" beyond them.

In all its activities, a very significant issue is with which forces does the LCY identify itself--with those who have resolved their problems or with those who seek in the further development of self-management the path to resolve their issues of existence. In this connection the question which arises is whether we are a party of the movement or a party of the order. We are both, Kucan said. The LCY must defend the institutions of the system because it had also set them up, but only for as long as it contributes to the development of the revolution.

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YUGOSLAVIA

CROAT LC'S SPILJAK ON 'IDEO-POLITICAL DEVIATIONS'

LD242228 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 24 Jan 85

[Text] Zabreb, 24 January (TANJUG)--Mika Spiljak, president of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium, spoke at today's session of the Club of Deputies of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia to delegates of all the three chambers of the Croat Assembly on a number of topical questions of the socio-political situation in Yugoslavia and Croatia.

In his speech Mika Spiljak mainly stressed the causative links between a number of topical ideo-political deviations and the material situation in society as a whole and the various calculations being made by hostile forces outside the country as well as by small vociferous groups in the country in their desire to exploit problems encountered in our economic development as an opportunity for their aggressive attacks on the achievements of our revolution and on Comrade Tito and the system and for denigrating all of our objective results.

He further dwelt on the intensified activity of the extreme section of the Catholic clergy, who were striving with all their energies, by raising the national flag and under the guise of struggling for Croatia, to wage a spurious struggle for the salvation of the Croatian people, while in fact they were helping fan up antagonism.

The series of ideo-political deviations in evidence in the country at the moment--ranging from certain decidedly politicized religious manifestations and a variety of speaking platforms where actual attacks are made on this country under the guise of analyses of the situation in it, all the way to foreign press and a section of our own press and publishing--do not represent accidental phenomena. They are an attempt at synchronized pressure, conducted and directed in a coordinated manner, against socialist self-managing Yugoslavia. All these elements, Spiljak stressed, must constantly be borne in mind by all of us in society and particularly in the League of Communists.

Diverse "critics" and "analysts" offer us in their analyses the dismantling of everything that is socialist and communist, from Lenin and the October Revolution to Tito and this Yugoslavia, this community of fraternal and equal nations and nationalities. This escalation has recently been manifesting itself in the form of requests for monuments to be erected in honor of those

who collaborated with the occupiers, which amounts to wanting to place those who served the foreigner on the same footing with those who fought for the country. It is not difficult to find the link between these tendencies and the anti-Yugoslav involvement of hostile emigration.

All this, Mika Spiljak warned, is coordinated by someone. The intention is to present all this as a "democratic alternative" and legalize such a reactionary policy in our country. All this represents elements of what is known as a special war, which is directed against our country.

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YUGOSLAVIA

USSR JOURNALS 'FALSIFY' HISTORICAL FACTS

AU291021 [Editorial Report] Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian on 21 January on page 2 carries a 1,200-word report from Moscow by TANJUG correspondent Aleksandar Novacic which critically reviews "Soviet Historiography's Troubles" with the history of World War II, and a 900-word TANJUG report from Belgrade in connection with a recent CETVRTI JUL article criticizing articles that appeared in the Soviet journals MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN and KOMMUNIST.

In his report from Moscow Aleksandar Novacic notes that Soviet television recently showed a documentary film on the battles of the third Ukrainian front; he states that the "text accompanying the film, which was read by an announcer, did not deviate from the present 'official' historiography. It was once again heard, among other things, that Bulgarian troops participated in the operations liberating Belgrade. A former Yugoslav partisan watching the film had only one comment: But why did these Bulgarians not participate in the liberation of Sofia? The answer to this question is neither sought nor given here," Novacic reports. "It is not even mentioned that, in September 1944, the USSR declared war against fascist Bulgaria; but it is almost always mentioned that in World War II the Bulgarians did not fire a single shot against the Soviet troops. However, it is not mentioned that at that time the Bulgarians were too deeply engaged in Yugoslavia in the struggle against the Yugoslav partisans and the National Liberation Army." According to Novacic, this "double standard is of a political nature. It must be admitted," he says, "that Soviet historiography is in a sensitive position because it is compelled to consider a 'special treatment' for the present 'Warsaw allies' among whom more than half were on the 'opposite side' in World War II. Especially Bulgaria."

Reviewing further the recently published book by Colonel Yuriy Perechnov, doctor of sciences and chief of the Scientific Department of the Military History Institute of the USSR Ministry of Defense, entitled "The Great Patriotic War in Soviet Historiography," Novacic particularly notes Perechnov's insistence on "'strictly scientific criteria' to determine the contribution of the individual states to the joint victory in World War II," the criteria of the country's political position in the war and of its actual participation in the armed struggle. But the author of the book "obviously deviates from these criteria, clearly defined by himself, when he enters the sphere of concrete events," Novacic points out. He reports in this connection that Perechnov "lists Yugoslavia, together with Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania, among the countries which the 'Soviet Army liberated from the fascist occupation.'"

Novacic also reports that "a few recent major articles in Soviet journals, such as MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN, KOMMUNIST, and others, clearly show the tendency to belittle the Yugoslav contribution to the victory in World War II." It is a clear tendency, he says: "The Yugoslav liberation struggle and socialist revolution (which is ranked in the same order as the revolutions in Bulgaria, Romania, and even the GDR) are belittled and the Yugoslav armed struggle is underestimated and pushed 'within the framework of resistance movements.'" But if Soviet historians "consistently applied the 'strict scientific criteria,' precisely defined by Colonel Perechnov, they would certainly obtain a different picture of who contributed to the common victory over fascism and what that contribution was. But as it is, one thing is said in theory, and another in practice," Novacic concludes his report from Moscow.

The TANJUG report from Belgrade specifically refers to a criticism in CETVRTI JUL of an article in Issue No 1 of 1985 of the Soviet journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN, by USSR General V. Matsulenko, though it is not clear to what an extent this is a report on the CETVRTI JUL commentary, and to what extent it is TANJUG's own commentary. However, it says that Matsulenko's article "not only disparages the organized armed struggle of Yugoslavia's peoples and nationalities against fascism and negates the authenticity of the Yugoslav socialist revolution, but also indirectly ranks Yugoslavia among the countries to which the Soviet Army brought the freedom and the change of social order. The Soviet party organ KOMMUNIST associates itself with General Matsulenko's claims to some extent and asserts that, 'in the postwar years, the revolution developed within the framework of the old state order, for instance, in Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Romania.' The advancement of these theses with the tendency to ignore and devalue the true place and contribution of the national liberation struggle and socialist revolution of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities and the contribution of the Yugoslav National Liberation Army, as a part of the allied forces, to the final defeat of the fascist coalition--especially in the year of the 40th anniversary of the victory--is more than obvious proof of a brazen falsification of incontestably established historical facts," TANJUG says.

Recalling that on several past occasions different views were expressed in the Soviet Union about the Yugoslav liberation struggle and socialist revolution, TANJUG concludes that, "General Matsulenko's and KOMMUNIST articles represent to some extent a continuation of regular attempts to reshape and falsify history" although these attempts have been negated by Soviet eyewitnesses and participants in the Belgrade operations. "Objectivity in presenting the facts about Yugoslavia or about the Soviet Union, including the historical facts, is one of the important elements required for a successful development of good and friendly Yugoslav-Soviet relations on the basis of known principles," TANJUG says, emphasizing that the Yugoslavs "have never accepted nor will they ever accept anyone's theory claiming that freedom, independence, and socialism have been presented to them as a gift."

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YUGOSLAVIA

TANJUG VIEWS USSR PUBLICATIONS' CONTROVERSY

LD301108 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0154 GMT 30 Jan 85

[TANJUG Special Services; Service of Dispatches from Abroad; Banner Headline: The End of a Polemic in the USSR; Heading: Self-criticism by the Magazine; Sub-title: VOPROSY ISTORII Accepts the Criticism by KOMMUNIST. Contradictions or Crises in Socialism? From the TANJUG Correspondent--TANJUG heading]

[Text] Moscow, 30 January (TANJUG)--After more than 2 months the magazine VOPROSY ISTORII self-critically accepted the evaluation of KOMMUNIST which as far back as October 1984 vehemently reacted to an article by Professor J. Ambartsumov. This appears to have put a full stop to a polemic centering on no one else but Vladimir Lenin himself and his assessment of the causes of the 1921 Kronstandt rebellion. However, it seems that history here was only a theoretical curtain behind which present day socialism was discussed in general and contradictions and crises in particular because of the crises in East European countries--GDR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland... [TANJUG ellipsis] were discussed.

J. Ambartsumov estimated that the uprising of the sailors in Kronstandt had primarily been the result of a conflict between the authority and the people, of the alienation of the leading structure and also of the wrong economic policy wartime communism. His second argument was that in that crisis--and he extended it to East European crisis situations--the dominant factors were supplied by the country's internal situation while the external factors were no doubt operative, but not in a decisive manner.

In addition, the professor quoted Lenin himself having found in his works the confirmation for his theses.

There was a reaction by KOMMUNIST which considered that Professor Ambartsumov "sees only what he wants to see." Having noted "the odd positions" held by the professor and also of the magazine which gave him space, KOMMUNIST expressed its astonishment that the author did not see "the role of right-wing opportunities" in the crisis situations in Eastern Europe, that he had forgotten "class contradictions," and that he reduced everything "to the contradictions between those who rule and those who are being ruled."

"This is also a very shallow approach to the problem," was the assessment made by KOMMUNIST [of] Professor Ambartsumov's article.

The Collegium Backs Down

As a result, the VOPROSY ISTORII collegium organized an enlarged meeting to which "major specialists" for the questions of the period of transition were invited. The statement issued noted that "the criticism by KOMMUNIST was appropriate." It added that measures had been taken "to improve the work of the editorial board and of the collegium in order to ensure the higher ideological and theoretical level of the articles being published."

The criticism was assessed as "timely" and the author himself was censured for paying little attention to the external factors that influenced the Kronstadt uprising. As for the events in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc., it was said that Ambartsumov had failed "to elaborate on the negative role played by right-wing opportunists in the crisis situations in the socialist countries."

The second major observation addressed to the author referred to the fact that he "had no grounds" to establish an analogy between the crisis in the Soviet Union in 1921 and the events in the neighboring socialist countries. "The crisis and the antagonistic contradictions present in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism cannot be transferred to a period in which socialism has been victorious," said the statement by the editorial collegium of VOPROSY ISTORII." The long text was then followed by other observations and assessments.

An exception was made only with regard to the author of the text that had caused this vehement polemic. What happened was that there was not a single word used to say what J. Ambartsumov thought about it all.

What is the Problem?

What is the essence of the polemic conducted by the two Soviet magazines? It is certain that the main issue is not a historic one and that it is not bound up only with the different interpretations of Lenin's heritage. The essence would appear to be in the different treatment of one of the essential questions of the socialist system: what contradictions are present in socialism and to what extent, what are the social roots, and what are the paths leading to their solution.

These questions do not have a theoretical dimension only, although it is undeniable that they are exceptionally important for the theory of socialist development. The practical dimension of a different interpretation of the problem of "the contradictions of socialism" offers different roads and different methods for their solution.

The impression is that there exist at least two essential formulated stands concerning these questions. According to one, contradictions are present in socialist society but they are only of a non-antagonist nature. The other stand proceeds from the assumption that in specific conditions and circumstances manifestations of antagonistic contradictions in socialism could occur, that is to say, that society could land in a crisis situation involving not only the leadership but the system as well.

This second stance was also presented by Professor Ambartsumov, but he was neither the first nor the only person to do so. A similar thesis, perhaps not in such a radical form, had been presented earlier by Professor Fedoseyev, Vadim Semenov, VOPROSY FILOSOFII chief editor; and, especially by Philosopher A.P. Butenko who has been dealing with these problems for quite some time now and whose articles have been published in the philosophical magazine since 1982.

It is characteristic that all those who took part in presenting their viewpoint proceed from the thesis that contradictions do exist in socialism. This stance is taken also by the highest party leadership who speak of the contradictions of a non-antagonistic nature which can be resolved and which are resolved within the framework of the system. For instance, these are the contradictions between the urban and rural areas, between industry and some other branches [of the economy] and the like.

This perception of the contradictions in socialism provides a good theoretical and ideological basis for the improvement of the system and its "adjustments" without a single essential premise being questioned in the process. This is a dominant trend among party ideologists, and the polemics, criticism, and self-criticism by individual magazines and authors are here to confirm that other alternative thinking does exist.

[Signed] Aleksandar Novacic

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

OUTGOING VATICAN ENVOY--Belgrade, 29 January (TANJUG)--Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, today received a farewell visit from Michele Cecchini, the apostolic pro-nuncio to the SFRY, who is due to leave our country soon. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1127 GMT 29 Jan 85 LD]

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